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## THE MOUND BUILDERS.

MANY centuries, perhaps thousands of years ago, there existed in this country a race of people nearly, if not quite, as numerous as the present inhabitants—a race far superior to the Indians in civilization; a people engaged in agriculture; who felled the forests and cultivated the fields; lived in towns cities and villages; understood and practiced the art of civilized warfare and self-defense; had made considerable progress in manufacturing, especially implements of war and of the chase; and were expert in all manner of handicraft pertaining to the wants of a people in settled life; a race that disappeared it is said, one thousand years ago, more or less, leaving behind no tradition or history, and no record, save that which is to be found treasured in the mounds, earthworks and fortifications, so curiously and strangely wrought, and which

the levelling hand of time has been unable to efface or destroy.

How do we know that this race, which we call the "Mound Builders," was numerous? and, how is it known that they inhabited this country thousands of years ago? and again, how do we know that they disappeared one thousand years ago? I would answer that we do not know to a certainty. The most we can do is to conjecture and reason from well known facts; for, as I have said, they left behind no record or history by which we are able to ascertain precisely either when they lived, or when they became extinct. When De Soto marched north across Alabama in 1540, more than three hundred years ago, he found these mounds as we now see them, also found that the Indians had no tradition concerning them; so, when we speculate concerning their antiquity, our theories

amount to something or nothing, just in proportion as certain facts or circumstances tend to prove or disprove them.

Suppose, for instance, that we were to cut down one of the huge oak trees found growing on the top of one of these large mounds, and in so doing, ascertain from its rings of growth that it was not less than five hundred years old; to conclude that the mound (whether artificial or natural) was older than the oak, and that it was there when the oak began to grow, would, to say the least, be no very violent presumption. If, in pursuing our investigations still further, we should dig up the roots of the oak, and proceed to excavate the mound by digging down to and below the level of its base, and, in so doing, find first a layer of gravel and pebbles; secondly, a layer of earth; then again a stratum of sand; and again, another layer of earth; and lastly a stratum of sand, under which we were to find an altar of symmetrically shaped stone built in the form of a parallelogram, with the utmost regularity and precision, say ten feet long, eight feet wide and two feet deep; uncovering which, we find deposited within a human skeleton, pieces of pottery, fragments of shell, pearl beads, implements of stone, horn and bone, ornaments and bracelets of copper; we might, without much impropriety, conclude: *First*, that the mound was artificial and not natural; *secondly*, that the tree began to grow after the mound was finished; and *lastly*, that that particular body was deposited underneath the mound more than five hundred years ago. How much longer we might not be able by the data so fur-

nished, to tell; but we would have a pretty good grip on five hundred years, at all events. It is needless for me to remark that what I have just described is a common occurrence in mound investigations. Trees much older than five hundred years have been found growing on the top of these mounds. A large chestnut tree, growing on an ancient breastwork in Highland county, Ohio, was found on actual examination to be twenty-one feet in circumference and from its rings of annual growth to be more than six hundred years old; added to this the probable period intervening from the time of the building of the work to its abandonment, and the subsequent period of its invasion by the forest, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that it was built, and the bodies of the dead, their implements and ornaments, were deposited underneath not less than one thousand years ago, while conjecture would lead us to believe that the length of time was much greater. As few if any of the works of these mysterious builders bear traces of a more recent origin, writers are led to conclude that the Mound Builders must have disappeared not less than one thousand years ago. But, as I said before, we can only theorize. Growing on the same earthwork was an oak, twenty-three feet in circumference, and scattered all around were the trunks of immense trees in every stage of decay.

But have we other means of approximating the antiquity of this race of people?

It is claimed by some writers that they lived before the period of history.



The human period has been divided into three stages, which are respectively called: the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

Since the human race began, in all parts of the world stone implements appear to have been used first. In the absence of a knowledge of metals, the ingenuity of man first contrived to fashion out of stone such rude implements of warfare, utensils of domestic use, trinkets and ornaments as his wants and necessities demanded or his fancy suggested. This period is called the *Stone Age*, and is supposed to embrace from five to seven thousand years of time.

Afterwards came the use of soft metals, such as copper and tin, and with it the art of hardened copper. This period, which is put down by eminent geologists at from three to four thousand years is called the "*Bronze Epoch*."

Lastly, came a knowledge of iron, with contrivances for blasting and smelting it, which is called the "*Iron Age*," and is contemporaneous with the *Historic Period*. That is to say, the written history of man goes back no further than the *Iron Age*—or rather the *Iron Epoch* dates back from the earliest written history of man, and continues to the present. The allusions to iron in the early Scriptures are frequent.

Egypt is likened to the iron furnace—(Deut. 4:20). Og, king of Bashan, had an iron bedstead—(Deut. 3:2). Job informs us, that iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone (Job 28:2). Tubal-Cain, we are informed, was an instructor of every artificer, in a knowledge of brass

and iron. The Phœnicians knew its use, and it was employed in tools for the preparation of materials for building King Solomon's temple. Herodotus tells us, that the ancient Egyptians used iron in the process of embalming; and, the blue color of the swords, painted on the tombs of Thebes, shows that they employed steel as well as bronze. We are informed by the same writer, that among the rude Scythians, the worship of an antique iron sword prevailed; that they built huge mounds of earth, on the top of which was planted an iron sword, to which yearly sacrifices of cattle and horses were made.

Now, in attempting to fix the period at which the Mound Builders inhabited this country, close attention has been given to the implements and ornaments found in the mounds erected by them; and, although implements and ornaments of stone, copper, bone and horn, of every variety and design pertaining to the stone and bronze ages, have been found in great abundance, in but one single instance, as far as known, has any implements of iron been discovered, and that was a piece of native ore, wrought as a stone, or hammered out, demonstrating that the ancient Mound Builders knew nothing about subjecting iron by the process of heat, to their use in the manufacturing of implements. In consequence of which, superadded to the curious fact that their embankments, fortifications, earthworks and mounds, it is said, are never found on the lower or last formed river bottoms, but always on the terraces or higher lands, has led eminent writers to conclude that this conti-

nent was peopled by migrations from the old world, at a period far remote, when mankind was unacquainted with the use of iron. Others contend quite plausibly that they were the descendants of a common stock, which migrated from a common center located at or near the North Pole, and that they constructed their mounds and earthworks before the rivers had cut their present channels, and before the lowest alluvium was formed. But, as the Spainard says when puzzled to answer a perplexing question: *Quien sabe?* (Who knows?)

I said to you that the Mound Builders were a numerous people, living in towns, cities and villages, possessing considerable knowledge of the various arts unknown to the Indian tribes, and that they engaged in agriculture. I believe that this country, at the time of the Mound Builders, was as largely cleared up and cultivated as it now is, and as densely populated.

How do we know this? We can only infer from the magnitude of their works. Suppose this country should once more relapse into solitude and cease to be inhabited, and so continue for a period of say one to five thousand years, as is supposed in the case of the Mound Builders, what would there be left to show that it had at one time bloomed in luxuriant gardens and cultivated fields? What portion of our magnificent public works would remain? What monuments of our labor and skill would then be left standing to tell that it was once inhabited by a numerous and highly cultivated race of people? That is, what greater monuments of our exist-

ence would remain than has been left to us by the Mound Builders? From the humblest hut to the palace of the millionaire, all our buildings of wood, brick and stone, would have long since rotted or crumbled to the earth, and forests of stately trees would have covered the sites of our cities and towns. The iron on our railroad tracks would have rusted out and disappeared, and, except, perhaps, the embankments here and there, but little trace of the roadbeds would be left.

What monuments would we leave behind us to show that we had either a more numerous or a more enlightened race than the Mound Builders, except, perhaps, a few traces of art, to be found here and there in broken and crumbling blocks of granite, or stray leaves of written history found amid the crumbling ruins of an extinct race of people? Time is a great leveler. Two or three thousand years is enough to obliterate nearly all the traces of a mighty people, except those enduring monuments like the pyramids of Egypt, the sphynxes and obelisks, or the mounds and earthworks of the ancient Mound Builders, which seem to be almost as enduring as time itself.

We look with pride and admiration upon our public buildings and national works of art. We boast of the blocks and pillars of granite that we have erected to be lasting monuments, commemorative of important events or of distinguished individuals in our nation's history. But, I can imagine, should this country once more lapse into solitude, that in the course of a few thou-

sand years our greatest works of art would cut but a sorry figure alongside of the great works of the Mound Builders that even then would remain standing.

Let us look for a moment at the magnitude of their works and consider the time and labor that must necessarily have been expended in rearing these enduring monuments of handicraft; and, in so doing, we can judge, in a measure, both in the number and skill of that people, and I must say that we can only glance in a general way at the most noted of the ten thousands of these monuments which dot the country over. To attempt a description of even the most prominent ones would occupy very much more time than I have at my disposal.

We have no better way of forming an idea of the magnitude of their works, and the immense number of people engaged in their construction, than by a comparison with other monuments of a similar nature. Considering that in the construction of the pyramids it is estimated to have cost the labor of three hundred and sixty thousand men for twenty years to build one of the smallest. That two thousand men were occupied three years in carrying a single stone from Elphantine to Sais, and that the construction alone of the canal of the Red Sea, through which these mighty blocks of granite were transported, cost the lives of one hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians, we can form an estimate of the population of the Egyptian kingdom from the incredible waste of labor expended in the con-

struction of those mighty pyramids. What an immense amount of labor must have been expended in constructing the great national highway of Peru, macadamized with immense slabs of stone, closely fitted together, for a distance of one thousand miles. Yet, when we suppose that the Mound Builders, being destitute of machinery, wholly unacquainted with the use of iron implements, deprived, as we suppose they were, of the auxiliary aid of domestic animals, such as the ox and the horse, and consider that the monuments they have left behind them are the simple work of their hands, aided only by such rude implements of stone as supplied the most primitive wants of a primitive people, the labor of constructing the pyramids is insignificant beside that of the ancient Mound Builders, for we must consider that the difference in implements, machinery and facilities for labor between the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Mound Builders was at least ten to one; that is, one ancient Egyptian, with the facilities at his command, must have been able to perform as much labor in a single day as a Mound Builder could in ten, yet we find the pyramids exceeded in size at least by works of the Mound Builders. The great terraced pyramid of Cholula, in Mexico, one hundred and seventy-two feet in height, with a base of 1,335 feet, covering an area of forty-five acres of land, is nearly double the size of the great pyramid of Egypt.

The great platform mound of Cahokia, in the Mississippi valley, between Alton and East St. Louis, surrounded

by some two hundred other mounds of various forms and sizes, rises up in the form of a parallelogram, more than one hundred feet in height, with sides respectively, seven hundred feet by five hundred feet in length, with a platform at its top three hundred feet long and two hundred feet wide, covering an area of six acres of land, and is said to contain one-fourth as many cubic feet of material as the great pyramid of Ghizeh; but considering that this structure was the result of the simple hand labor of the countless multitude, that of necessity must have been engaged in its construction, and realizing that implements of wood, stone and copper could hardly have proved very efficient auxiliaries to the builders, who must have depended mainly on their own bare hands and weak powers of transportation for excavating and collecting together the twenty million cubic feet of material which make up the solid contents of this great mound, this structure assumes the magnitude of many times the pyramid of Ghizeh. On the top of this mound rises a conical shaped mound, ten feet high, which, on exploration, yielded human bones, funeral vases and various implements of stone. In speaking of this great mound, Foster says: "It is probable that upon this platform was erected a capacious temple, within whose walls the high priests gathered in different quarters, at stated seasons, celebrated their mystic rites, while swarming multitudes below looked up with mute admiration.

The mound at Grave creek, in West Virginia, is said to be equal in size to

the third pyramid of Egypt. It is seventy feet in height and nine hundred in circumference. When first discovered, trees were growing on its top three to five hundred years old, and lying scattered about were found monarchs of the forest in every stage of decay that had grown up, flourished, withered, fallen and decayed, centuries before the growth of the present trees now standing. In 1838, Mr. Tomilson, the owner of the premises, carried a drift along the surface of the level ground to the centre of the mound; and from thence sunk a shaft from the summit to intercept it. At the depth of one hundred and eleven feet he came to a vault that had been excavated before the mound was commenced, twelve feet long, eight feet wide and seven feet deep. Along each side, and across the ends, upright timbers had been placed, which supported timbers thrown across the vault as a ceiling. These timbers were covered with loose, unhewn stone. The timbers had rotted and tumbled into the vault. In this vault were two human skeletons, one of which had no ornaments; the other was surrounded by six hundred and fifty shell beads, and a curious shell ornament, six inches long.

In sinking the shaft from the top down, at the distance of thirty-four feet above the bottom vault, was found a similar one, enclosing a skeleton, which had been decorated with a profusion of shell beads, copper rings and plates of mica. He says: "To form a just idea of the profusion of these ornaments, we must know that the discs, cut from a certain shell, number two thousand three



hundred and fifty ; and the small shells, which had been pierced at the shoulder for stringing, numbered five hundred ; and the specimens of mica, two hundred and fifty."

The great mound at Seltzertown, Mississippi, is a truncated pyramid, six hundred feet long, and four hundred feet broad at its base, covering six acres of ground. Its height is forty feet, reached by a graded way, which leads to a platform of four acres on the summit. From this platform rise three conical mounds, one at each end and one in the center. Both of the extreme mounds are truncated, the westernmost one rising to the height of forty feet, and the other somewhat less. Eight other mounds are placed at regular intervals near it.

The great mound itself, the platform from which rise the minor structures, is surrounded by a ditch ten feet in depth.

A Mr. Dickinson, in exploring this mound, found numerous skeletons and specimens of pottery, including vases filled with pigments, ornaments and ashes, indicative of burnt offerings. The north side of the mound is supported by a wall of sun-dried bricks, two feet thick, filled with grass, rushes and leaves. Angular tumuli mark the corners, which were formed of large brick, retaining the impression of human hands.

The great mound in the vicinity of Miamisburg, Ohio, is sixty-eight feet in perpendicular height, one hundred and fifty-two feet in circumference, containing three hundred and eleven thousand three hundred and fifty-three feet of earth.

Mr. Henry Howe, a gentleman who has given this subject considerable attention, says : "We have seen mounds which would require the labor of a thousand men, employed on our canals, with all their mechanical aids and improved implements of labor, years to complete."

These mounds or tumuli are scattered all over the United States and Mexico, and number a great many thousand. They are found as far east as the source of the Allegheny, in the western part of the state of New York, and extend westward to the Pacific slope in Oregon. They are spread over the valley of the Mississippi to the gulf of Mexico, and line the shores of the gulf from Texas to Florida. They occur in great numbers in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Texas ; and in our own beautiful state of Ohio they abound in great numbers.

It would appear that Ohio was fully as famous in the days of the Mound Builders as it is at the present day. Ohio, then as now, ranked amongst the first, not only in the richness of its soil and salubrity of climate, but in the number, enterprise, intelligence, and industry of its inhabitants, as is evident from the great number and magnitude of its mounds and fortifications, and the superior engineering skill exhibited in their construction.

Squires, Davis, Foster, and other writers locate the capital of the great Mound Builders kingdom in the state of Ohio. How many emperors, kings, grand sachems, presidents or great men

Ohio produced in those days, of course we can only surmise ; but, judging the great past by the recent past and present, and supposing that Ohio was as productive of great men in those days as it now is, I would suppose that in providing rulers for the Mound Builders, Ohio, in comparison with the balance of the nation, stood at least in the proportion of eight to seven.

They had large settlements at Cincinnati, Portsmouth, Marietta, Chillicothe, Circleville, Athens, Worthington, Xenia, Springfield, Dayton, Miamisburg, Hamilton, Oxford and Eaton ; on the Little Miami at Columbia, Plainville and all along the valley, from below Newton to above Sharon. Also, along the banks of the Ohio and Great Miami, and elsewhere throughout the state.

The number of tumuli, or mounds proper in Ohio, are estimated at not less than *ten thousand*, and the embankments and enclosures at ten to fifteen hundred. In Ross county alone it is said there are one hundred inclosures and five hundred mounds.

In addition to the great number of mounds spoken of, those ancient workers constructed immense embankments, earthworks and enclosures, in variety of form and size, including perfect circles, accurate squares, forms of birds, human figures and animals. Some of these enclosures were rectangular squares, apparently places for public games and sports. Others comprise a vast series of embankments, also circles and squares containing avenues, and geometrical figures, remarkable for their magnitude and precision of outline.

Others represent raised figures of men, animals, birds and reptiles on a gigantic scale. It is impossible, in the limited time at my disposal, to attempt anything like even a limited description of the tens of thousands of earthworks and figures to be found scattered over the country. I must therefore content myself with giving you a brief outline of a few of the prominent ones.

First, of the mounds and earthworks, representing figures of animals, birds, reptiles, etc., which are to be found in most all of the states, but more numerous in Wisconsin than elsewhere.

In Adams county, Ohio, is a figure representing a serpent in the act of swallowing a figure somewhat of the form of a toad. The serpent is more than a thousand feet long, its body winding back in graceful undulations, terminating in a trifle coil at the tail ; and the animal that it is swallowing is a mound one hundred and sixty feet long by eighty feet wide.

Their earthworks and line of defense exhibit great engineering skill, embracing geometrical figures, squares, octagons, circles and ellipses, and are often combined together with such precision and accuracy that the sides of the different squares forming a system of earthworks, measuring sometimes miles, are exactly the same length.

In the Scioto valley, within an enormous enclosure, having gateways and approaches, are found a number of squares, with sides measuring each exactly one thousand and eighty feet.

One of the most noted earthworks to be found is at Marietta, at the junction

of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, consisting of two irregular squares, one containing forty acres within the enclosure and the other about twenty, together with graded covered ways leading from one to the other. The walls of the principal square are about six feet high and twenty to thirty feet wide at the base, and each entrance or gateway is defended by a mound within the enclosure. Within the larger enclosure are four elevated squares or truncated pyramids, three of which have graded passages or avenues of ascent to their tops, the largest being 180 feet long by 132 wide, and 10 feet high, with a graded way running to the top 25 feet wide. There is a passage or gateway 150 feet wide in the middle of the left wall of the principal enclosure; on the side next the Muskingum, and leading from it towards the river, and at right angles to the embankment, is a graded or covered way of singular construction. It is 680 feet long and 150 wide, and consists of excavated passages descending regularly from the plain on which the works are situated to the alluvium of the river. A Mr. Hart, who described this ancient work as early as 1791, in speaking of this gateway, says: "The center of the excavated way is slightly raised and rounded, after the manner of the paved streets of modern cities: measured between the summits of the banks, the width of the way is about 230 feet; at the base of the grade, the walls upon the interior are 20 feet high. It has been conjectured by some that the river flowed immediately at the foot of this graded way, at the time of its construc-

tion. If admitted, it would give to this monument an antiquity greatly superior to that of the pyramids, unless the deepening of our rivers has been infinitely more rapid in times past than at present. But one fact favors this conjecture, and that is the entire absence of remains of antiquity upon the beautiful terraces to which this graded passage leads. However," he says, "they may have once been as thickly populated as they now are, and this passage may have been the grand avenue leading to the plain above, through which assemblies and processions passed in the solemn observance of a mysterious worship." I can not close this branch of my subject without giving you a brief description of the ancient works at Newark, in Licking county, Ohio, which are the most intricate if not the most gigantic of all the Mound Builders' work in Ohio, and about which volumes have been written. They occupy a plain between Raccoon creek and the south fork of Licking creek, which is elevated from 30 to 50 feet above these watercourses, and extend over an area of two square miles. Whittlesey, several years since, made an accurate survey and plat of these works, and in describing them says: "Standing at the south, the observer finds himself within a circular embankment 12 feet high and 50 feet broad at the base, with an interior ditch 7 feet deep and 35 feet wide. At the gateway, which is marked by two parallel lines 80 feet apart, the parapets rise to the height of 16 feet, with a ditch 13 feet deep, making the altitude in the interior about 30 feet. The walls do not form a

true circle, the respective diameters being 1250 and 1150 feet. The area enclosed within this circle is 30 acres. In the centre of this circle is a mound in the shape of a huge bird track, the middle toe being 155 feet and the other two 110 feet in length. In front is a semi-lunar embankment 200 feet in length. Here," says Squires, "covered with the gigantic trees of a primitive forest, the work truly presents a grand and impressive appearance, and in entering this ancient avenue for the first time the visitor does not fail to experience a sensation of awe, such as he might feel in passing the portals of an Egyptian temple, or in gazing upon the ruins of Petra of the Desert. Out of the gateway a broad passage, lined by walls on each side, leading to an irregular square containing about 20 acres, a low mound marks each corner and also each central entrance. From the northeastern gateway there extend parallel lines connecting with a series of low walls as intricate almost as a Cretan labyrinth. Near the centre of the northwest wall there is another gateway, with a broad and gently curved avenue leading to the octagon, which encloses an area of 50 acres. Opposite each entrance there is a pyramidal mound about five feet high and 80 to 100 feet at the base. From the gateway on the southeast side, parallels 300 feet long and 60 feet apart conduct the observer into another true circle, about one-half mile in circumference and enclosing an area of 20 acres. Outside of the circle and opposite the gateway is a structure 170 feet long and eight feet higher than the general level of

the embankment overlooking the entire work. From the octagon parallel lines diverge southwest for a distance of two miles. Similar parallel lines, nearly a mile in extent, diverge eastward, enclosing a series of circles about two hundred feet in diameter, and form a line of communication between the different parts of the system.

Regardless of the fact that stone implements of agriculture have been found in the mounds, such as the spade and hoe, indicating that the Mound Builders depended for a living upon the products of the soil, we must conclude that to maintain and support so large a population as inhabited this country, and provide food for the wants of perhaps a moiety of the people who were engaged in the construction of these works, this people could not possibly have depended upon hunting or fishing for a subsistence, but must of necessity have cultivated the soil and relied on the constantly recurring seasons of seed-time and harvest as a means of support.

The stone arrowheads, spears, axes, fleshers, pipes, pestles, discs, totems and portions of textile fabrics, as well also as gauges, weights, shuttles, spindle-wheels, shell-work, water jugs, drinking-cups, sepulchral-urns, kettles and colored pottery, together with copper implements, such as chisels, axes, daggers, spear and arrowheads, knives, awls and bracelets, and other implements and ornaments found in countless numbers in the mounds and earthworks of this people, show that though they may have lived before the age of iron and the discovery of its uses, they were not only



as numerous as the sands of the seashore (to use a common expression), but that they exhibited wonderful shrewdness, ingenuity and perseverance in the manufacture of these implements, considering the rude and primitive means at their command.

What became of the Mound Builders is a question no one, as yet, has been able to solve. Many theories have been advanced, but at most they are mere conjectures. Some think they were annihilated by stronger nations; some by the Aztecs; others by the Pueblos.

Dr. Dawson says: "To the judicial mind there can be nothing clearer than that America is really, in point of time, the Old World—the first fitted for life, and, therefore, the first so occupied." Recent discoveries point to the fact that there was a race of men, highly civilized, organized into communities, using letters, skilled in arts, versed in astronomy and workers in metals, while yet the man of Europe herded with the cave bear, as much the animal and as little cultured as his four-footed companion. The conditions are such that no other conclusion can be reached; indeed, so favorable and demonstrative are they that many scientists, whose opinions are entitled to great weight, hold that the European of the remote age was the unprogressive descendant of the same stock which here developed into such magnificence of knowledge and achievement. However that may be, there is a general agreement among archæologists that the race of man on this continent inconceivably antedates the Adamic period of six thousand years.

Professor Dawson thinks that man indubitably existed on the continent of America prior to two hundred and forty thousand years ago, occupying the regions between the chain of great lakes and the Arctic circle; but for reasons presently to be noted, no trace of that occupation could possibly have been left to be discovered now, except it may be in the caves of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan region. At that remote date began the last glacial epoch, during which a glacier crept down from the north pole to the parallel of forty degrees north—a mass of ice more than twelve miles thick at the pole and a mile thick in the latitude of New York. Before that glacier man and all animals capable of migration went southward; the slow-moving ice plowed the whole face of the country, denuding it of soil and every vestige of pre-existence in life, down to the very bed rock, and swept its masses of debris into the sea into which the glaciers projected. Over the vast ice plain the north wind blew continuously, carrying its freezing touch almost to the equator, and rendering what is now the north torrid zone milder and more equable than the climate in any portion of the present temperate zone. The gulf stream flowed no farther north than Cape St. Roque, in South America, and in the region of Yucatan, Bilize, Guatemala, Nicaragua and southern Mexico, the race retreating before the glaciers found a genial resting place.

Almost coincident with the beginning of the retreat of ice, which marked the conclusion of the last glacial epoch, viz:

at the lapse of one hundred and sixty thousand years, the primitive animal man began to develop into the intelligent being man. Dr. Croll, in his admirable work, 'Climate and Time,' and James Geikie in his 'Great Ice Age,' learnedly and conclusively discuss these physical occurrences, and demonstrate the probability of the movements herein ascribed to climate change. The theatre of this development of human intellect was the most advantageous that could be conceived, and therein the race attained a wonderful plane of science and art. Great cities were built of such magnificence and extent, that even in our day of great achievements their descriptions seem fabulous. Copan, Palenque and Uxmal, as they are called, yet remain in stupendous ruins. But buried in the, to us, impenetrable depths of the tropical forests of Central America, there are cities whose wonders far transcend the amazing grandeur of the known localities. More than one of these cities covered over a hundred square miles, and were closely built of hewn stones; the houses were vast in height and area, decorated with frieze and cornice, balustrade and balcony, post and pillar, all covered with exquisite carving. Reservoirs and aqueducts were constructed of extent, capacity and engineering excellence to far surpass anything our race has accomplished or even dreamed of. For fifty thousand years that American civilization grew and flourished, when another climate change halted its progress and induced its decay and extinction.

The diminishing eccentricity of the

earth's orbit, and the occurrence of the northern summer solstice in perihelion, at the point of minimum eccentricity, the retreat of the northern glacier and the return of the gulf stream to its northern course, rendered the equatorial zone constantly hotter and hotter, until a degree of heat was reached in the region of the now deserted cities which no animal life, except that of a salamander, could endure. Before that intense and growing heat the animal man, who had retreated southward before the glacier, began his last march northward. His course is marked with certain unmistakable traces, and lasted for the period of ten thousand years. His retreat was slow. Through southern and middle Mexico he built and occupied great cities, constantly, however, building smaller, slighter and less substantial structures. The dwindling of his houses, the falling away of decoration, and the breaking up of his social autonomy, are evident, and mark the gradually increasing heat and the return of man from a state of civilization to that of a nomad. In Texas he had become a Mound Builder, and through that state and Arkansas and Missouri the works of his hands are numbered by millions.

It is evident, too, that he built for shelter and not for defense, until he came to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. There he met an enemy and threw up defenses, and there he was finally overcome and almost exterminated by the Tartar progenitor of the red Indian. In this course we trace the decay of civilization and the

tendency to a primitive state, which, being allowed to continue, would have put the aborigines back in the central northern region of the continent in almost the same state as that in which they left it a quarter of a million years ago. In this light is Macauley's New Zealander "sitting on a broken arch of London bridge and sketching the ruins of St. Paul's" a very highly colored fancy.

There can be no doubt of his precedence of the mound building. The idea that the Mound Builders went south and erected the deserted cities of the south, is merely an offshoot of Adamic theory, but it has insuperable objections in its way. One of these is the consideration that the mounds of Texas, Missouri and Arkansas are dilapidated and almost extinct, while those of the northern stretch of country are sharp, clean and well-defined. Now, the climate of Texas, since the mound

building age, has been drier and more equable than that of Ohio, and if the Texas mounds were last built they would be less broken and effaced than those standing under the extremes of heat and cold, and under the frequent rain-storms of the lake region. But we know almost to a certainty that the Mound Builders were met by the human tide that followed the earlier retreating Asiatic glacier northward, crossed to the northwest coast of America, traversed British Columbia, Nevada, Montana, Dakota and Minnesota, in all of which territory are traces of its progress, and fell upon the Mound Builder just where the best-defined remains are found. The conflict between the hardy man coming down from the north and the feeble and degenerated man coming up from the south, could have but one conclusion—the defeat and obliteration of the weaker.

E. B. FINLEY.

## THE ORIGINAL NOTES OF MASON AND DIXON'S SURVEY.

IN the archives of the state department at Washington is a most curious and valuable old volume. It is none other than the original notes of the famous survey made under the direction of King George III of England, by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, in the year 1763. The old volume is smoky and discolored by age, but it is perfect in all its parts, and every letter and figure is as distinct as when it was first written.

"There is no such ink as that made now-a-days," said the custodian of the precious volume. "Its composition, like the art of embalming and the mechanical process by which the great pyramids of Egypt were constructed, is lost. These notes were made on the spot. The saddle-bags were unpacked and the pen, ink and paper brought fourth and the writing which has remained unfaded so long was executed."

This volume has, of course, an interesting history, but unfortunately only a small portion of that history can ever be written. It was found in 1860 in a pile of rubbish that had been thrown into a cellar in Halifax, and sold to the state department for the sum of five hundred dollars in gold.

At this remote date very few people know exactly what Mason and Dixon's line was, and why it was run by the royal commissioners.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, when the sovereigns of England began to grant charters to various proprietors to the soil of the new world, the knowledge of American geography was in a very primitive state. In fact, up to a hundred years later, some very serious mistakes in regard to it were made.

William Penn, the Quaker preacher, had inherited a claim of sixteen thousand pounds from his father against the English crown. In settlement of this claim he took lands in the new world. In 1682 Penn came to America, and in 1718 he died. Lord Baltimore, after trying to settle in Newfoundland, and visiting Virginia in 1628, wrote a strong letter to the king which resulted in a charter being issued to his son to lands now known as Maryland. This charter was dated June, 1632.

Things went on very well for a century more. But at length the Pennsylvania people and Maryland people began to settle up the interior. Here was a man who held lands from the proprietor of Pennsylvania. Another claimed the same lands on account of a charter from Lord Baltimore. The result was that constant disputes arose, and on several occasions there was bloodshed. The proprietors of Pennsylvania and Maryland both appealed to the king for protection in their rights, and at length, in 1763, Messrs. Mason and Dixon were



commissioned to make this very important historical survey.

The great volume of notes gives a minute account of the work and observations of the surveyors, from the time when they landed. They had various conferences with the proprietors of the two colonies, and then, with as accurate data as they could obtain, they at length began their work.

On December 1, 1763, the commissioners that had been appointed by the governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland convened at Philadelphia. They were in session for five days, and at the close of that time had fixed the point where the "south end of the city of Philadelphia is," and directed a carpenter to erect an observatory there.

At length the commissioners, after the most painstaking measurements and calculations, and almost interminable discussions with the Pennsylvania and Maryland commissioners, were ready to begin their work in good earnest. The reader will be most interested in the notes that were made on general subjects.

On the fourth of January, 1764, the commissioners made the following entry:

Finished our observations in Philadelphia, computing the result of the star's true zenith distances from our observatory.

January 7. Set out from Philadelphia with a quadrant to find (nearly) a place in the forks of the Brandywine having the same parallel as the southernmost point of the city of Philadelphia.

January 8. Fixed on the house of Mr. John Harlands (about 31 miles west of Philadelphia) to bring our instruments to.

January 10. The observatory taken down and put with the rest of our instruments into three wagons, except the telescope, &c., of the sector, which was

carry'd on the springs (with feather beds under it) of a single Horse chair.

January 14. Arrived at Mr. Harlands and set up the sector in his garden (inclosed in a Tent), and in the evening brought the instrument into the meridian and took observations.

Under date of September 13, 1764, the following is recorded:

Went to see Pocomoke Swamp. Its about 30 miles in length and 14 in breadth. (The west line from the sea, to the middle point passes through it). Here is the greatest quantity of timber I ever saw. Above the tallest oak, beech, poplar Hickory, Holly, and Fir; towers the lofty cedar (without a branch), till its evergreen conical top seems to reach the clouds: the pleasing sight of which renewed my wishes to see Mount Lebanon.

January 10, 1765, the following interesting note is made:

Left Brandywine and proceeded to Lancaster (Dist. about 35 miles), a Town in Pennsylvania, distance from Philadelphia 75 miles, bearing nearly due west. What brought me here was my curiosity to see the place where was perpetrated last winter the Horrid and inhuman murder of 26 Indians, men, women and children, leaving none alive to tell. These poor unhappy creatures had always lived under the protection of the Pennsylvania Government, and had lands allotted for them a few miles from Lancaster by the late celebrated Wm. Penn, Esq., proprietor. They had received notice of some of the back inhabitants and fled into the goal to save themselves; the keeper made the door fast; but it was broken open and two men went in and executed the bloody scene, while about fifty of their party sat on horseback without armed with guns, etc. Strange it was that the town, though as large as most market towns in England never offered to oppose them, tho' its more than probable they, on request might have been assisted by a company of his magistries Troops who were then in the town—no honor to them! What was laid to the Indians' charge was, that they held a private correspondence with the Enemy Indians; but this could never be proved against the men; and the women and children (some in their mothers' wombs that never saw light) could not be guilty.

The feeling that had been aroused over this boundary question is shown

by the following, under date of January 17, 1765 :

I fell in company with Mr. Samuel Smith who was sheriff of Lancaster county. He informed me that the people near the supposed boundary lines were then at open war. About ten miles from Lancaster on the River Sasquehannah, one Mr. Cresep defended his house as being in Maryland, with 14 men ; which (he surrounded with about 55 :) they would not surrender but kept firing out till the house was set on fire and one man in the house lost his life coming out.

The following, under date of February 24, of the same year, is both humorous and serious at the same time :

Met some boys just come out of a Quaker Meeting House as if the De—l had been with them. I could by no means get my horse by them. I gave the horse a light blow on the Head with my whip which brought him to the ground as if shot dead ; I over his head, my hat one way my wig another and whip another ; fine sport for the Boys. However I got up as did my Horse after some time ; and I led him by the Meeting House (the Friends pouring out) very serene, as if all had been well : But I had to lay too the next day my hip being hurt very much by the fall.

May 25, 1765, Mr. Mason gives a description of a thunder storm. He says :

In the evening a storm of Thunder and Lightning : about sunset I was returning from the other side of the river and at the distance of about 1½ mile the lightning fell in perpendicular streaks (in appearance about one foot in breadth) from the cloud to the ground. This was the first lightning I ever saw in streams continued without the least break thro' the whole, all the way from the cloud to the Horizon.

The following is a copy of a document sent to Messrs. Mason and Dixon by the Royal society, dated October 24, 1765 :

At a council of the Royal Society

*Resolved*, that the precise measure of a degree of Latitude in America in the neighborhood of Pennsylvania appears to the council and to the astronomer Royal, who was pleased to assist on this occa-

sion to be a work of great use and importance ; and that the known abilities of Messrs. Mason & Dixon, the excellence of the instruments with which they are furnished, the favorable level of the country and their having assistants well practiced in measuring ; do all concur in giving good ground to hope, that this business may now be executed with greater precision, than has ever yet been done and at a much less charge than the society can expect an opportunity of doing it hereafter.

*Resolved* to employ Messrs. Mason & Dixon in the said admeasurement of a degree of Latitude ; and to allow them the whole of their demand, being the sum of 200 Pounds sterling for the said work : and also, in case the proprietors of Maryland & Pennsylvania should refuse their stipulated allowance for their passage home, but not otherwise, the further sum of forty Pounds for the said Passage.

*Resolved* that it is the sense of the Council, that Messrs. Mason & Dixon remeasure the whole space required, without regarding what they have done on a former occasion : and that they be instructed to compare frequently their fir rods with their brass standard ; and to note down the degree of the Thermometer, at each time of such comparison, also that they take particular care of the brass standard and bring it home with them, in order to its being compared with the French standard if thought necessary and that the secretary communicate these resolutions to Messrs. Mason & Dixon.

*Resolved* that the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Baltimore and Mr. Penn, the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania be applied to for the use of their instruments now there. . . .

Minute directions and suggestions by the astronomer royal were sent with these resolutions.

There are many notes and observations in the volume. The following are copious extracts :

Laurel Hill or mountain is a wild of wilds, the laurel overgrown, the rocks gaping to swallow up, over whose deep mouths you may step. The whole a deep melancholy appearance out of nature.—But from the summit of the western most ridge, viz : from the point 214 miles, 12 chains there is the most delightful pleasing view of the western plains the eye can behold. From hence the end of our line may be seen about ten miles further, which reaches a ridge dividing the waters running to the Mananngahela

from those running into the Ohio. This ridge terminates the sight and makes a beautiful horizon that may be seen more than 100 miles from N. to S.

In the rivers Cheat and Mananngahela we found plenty of fish of various sorts, and very large particularly cat-fish. Caught a lizard near a foot in length. Coal is found very plenty here and beyond the River in our line.

Six miles beyond the river eight warriors of the Seneca nation fell in with us on their way to the southward going against the Cherokees. These people go 700 miles through these deserts to war. They are one of the six nations, which made the Indians with us only glad to see them. They were equipped with blankets and kettles, tomahocks, guns and bows and arrows: they staid two days with us got a small supply of Powder and paint when their captain ordered to march.

At our last station among others came Prince Prigueetom, Brother to the King of the Delawares; he spoke very good English (and though his face is deeply furrowed with time being 86 years old) told me his brother and himself had great mind to go and see the great King over the waters and make a perpetual peace with him; but was afraid he should not be sent back to his own country.

The land to the westward of the Mananngahela is very rich and fertile, the rich weed and peavine so thick you can scarcely get through it; which is the richest pasture for cattle I ever saw.

The old Prince above mentioned gave a very good description of the Ohio and Mississippi all agreeing with others that it runs through a plain level country, the land very good; meadows by nature of Miles square (having only few trees in them) whose verdant plains never heard the milkmaid singing blithe and gay.—Tho' who can tell what he has done that made them; a thousand annual suns to him how short.

The following is a description of the Ohio and Mississippi as described to me by Mr. Hugh Crawford, our interpreter who has traversed these parts for 28 years either as an Indian trader or commander in his majesties service in the late wars.

Beginning at the mouth of the Mississippi. The Island of New Orleans lies about 100 from the bar of the said river.

At about 100 miles above Orleans, on the west side, comes in a River nearly as large as the Mississippi. This river heads in the mountains of Mexico. At the head of this said river the Spaniards have a fort. 300 miles above Orleans is

Natchez, here the French have a fort. This is on the east side of the river and one of the most beautiful places for a settlement nature can produce. The lands exceeding rich; the season one continued spring.

Ships of two or 300 Tons may come up the River as far as this and sloops of 30 Tons up to the forks of the Ohio, one place only he doubts is a little dubious, about 200 miles below the Forks, where there is 20 or 30 small Islands, but he judges the Navigation is good on the west side of the Islands but had not time to prove it.

The River Mississippi is in general about half a mile in breadth and by the French account 1360 miles in length from the Forks of the Ohio to the mouth (in the Bay of Florida). This length he supposes to be very near.

There are many fine rivers fall into the Mississippi between the Natchees and the Forks of the Ohio from both sides, which are but very little known, therefore shall leave them, but must observe the whole is a plain rich land.

The Ohio at the forks is very near as large as the Mississippi. From the forks on a due north course 140 miles up the Mississippi lies the country called the Illinois, first settled by the French, who were encouraged by the French King to marry with the Indians, each couple receiving a premium of 50*l*. provided the native embraced the Catholic faith. By this means it soon became a fine settlement, and here the French erected a Fort; called it Fort Sharter, but the Fort and country being on the east side of the Mississippi it fell in the hands of the English by the treaty of peace in 176— and his Britanic Majesty has now a garison in the said Fort Sharter.

The Mississippi north of the Illinois is but little known. Its banks are settled by Indians who have had very little (and some not any) correspondence with the Europeans.

Therefore returning to the Forks of the Ohio and taking its course up we find many rivers on both sides emptying into it, all which my informant has been up and down for many Miles.

The land in the Forks of the Mississippi is very good where it is much to be wished there was a settlement, the climate and soil inviting every stranger's stay. About 50 miles up the Ohio the French erected a fort called Desumption, from hence by land to the Illinois about 70 miles.

On the east side of the Ohio from its mouth up to Pittsburg (called by the French Fort du Quesne)

comes in the rivers, 1st Cherokee, Broad river, Kentucky, Great Salt Lick, Totteroy, Great Kanhawa. These all head in the Alleghany chain of Mountains. The mouth of the Cherokee river is about 60 miles above the Forks. 15 miles above this comes in Broad river. The length of the Cherokee River about 400 hundred miles running through level country. Broad River for 200 miles in length may be walked over in summer being not above two feet deep, smooth level bottom, and breadth in general one mile and a half!

Above the Great Knahwa [Kanawha] and little Knahwa, near the head of which is the end of the west line where we left off. Above the little Knahwa is Fishing Creek and the two Weeling [Wheeling] creeks which is all of note to Pittsburg.

On the west side of the Ohio comes in the Rivers Wabash, Mineami [Miami] (or Rocky river), Siota, Hockhocking, Muskingum, and Beaver Creek near to Pittsburg. These all head in the low lands near Lake Erie interlocking with the heads of short creeks which runs northward into the said Lake.

The mouth of the Wabash is about 150 miles above the forks of the Ohio. It runs thro' a beautiful country, if a Desert of rich level land may be called so, where the meadows bounds are scarcely within the limits of the eye. The Mineami (or Rocky River), the Great (for there is a lesser between this and Siota), is very rapid and the west branch heads very near a River of the same name\* that runs into the south west end of Lake Erie.

The Siota is very gentle, its banks and the Ohio about its mouth is the seat of the Shawnees and Delaware Indians who live here by leave of the Six Nations.

Muskingum all gentle to the Head, whence to the head of Cayaga [Cuyahoga evidently meant] river is but one mile over which the Indians often carry their canoes and down Cayaga into Lake Erie.—Upon these rivers live the Mingoes, Tuscarawas &c.—The Tuscarawas' ancient seat was in Virginia where they have now some of their friends living. Their King with a few attendants, I saw at King Williams' Court House in Virginia in March 1766, who were going to pay a visit to their Brothers.

The head of the Alleghany River is about 200 miles N. E. from Pittsburg and runs down on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, thro' a plain inferior to none for the richness of its soil; at Pitt-

\* The writer evidently has confounded the River Maumee with Miami in this sentence.

burg it is joined by the Mananngahela, and is afterwards called the Ohio. From Pittsburg to the Forks where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi is about — miles.

From the end of our line to the Ohio, on a west course, is about forty miles. On a northwest course, about 30 miles.

The west line that divides the Provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, if extended, would fall on the Ohio about the mouth of Fishing creek. From thence a west course would pass through the southern part of the Illinois, the distance about seven or eight hundred miles. A country, says my informer, through which you may travel one hundred miles and not find one hill or one acre of barren land. In this large tract of land all lies waste, except just on the banks of the rivers, where in general the natives resort.

The directions which were given to Messrs. Mason and Dixon by the commissioners of Pennsylvania and Maryland are very specific, and are included in the volume of notes. They read as follows:

To Messrs. Chas. Mason and Jeremiah Dixon:  
GENTLEMEN:

You are to confine the line as directed to the end of Five Degrees of Longitude from the River Delaware, in the parallel of the said West Line, after which you are, as you return, to have a vido opened between the several posts that may be fixed in the said due west line so that the said line may be described and distinguished by one continued vido, according to your former Instructions; or if you find that time can be saved by employing your workmen in opening the said vido, while you are taking observations in order to correct your deviations in proceeding with the said west line you are desired so to do.

While you are opening the vido which is to describe the west line or Parallel of Latitude, you are to set a post on the summit of every Ridge over which the said West Line shall pass in the Direction of the said Line. You are Likewise to heap stones round the said posts (when stones may be very near and easily raised), so as that the same may be visible from Ridge to Ridge for the better ascertaining the place where the west line passes every ridge.

You are also to send proper persons to Baltimore Town in Maryland, when there are one hundred and



thirty-nine boundary stones, that they may convey the said stones to the proper places in the west line, which stones you are to set up in the said line as you return, in the same manner as the other Boundary stones have been fixed. But if it should happen that the places where any of the said Boundary stones ought to be fixed are on the tops of high mountains to which the said stones cannot be carried, you are in such places to erect and heap up together large quantities or piles of stones to ascertain, mark out and perpetuate the said spots or places, taking particular notice thereof in your minute books and report the same to the commissioners at their next meeting.

As soon as you have extended the line to the end of five degrees of longitude, you are to give immediate advice thereof to the commissioners that they may give notice thereof to each other and appoint another meeting.

A number of Indians have been deputed by the Six Nations (whose consent hath been obtained to our extending the west line to the western limits of the Province of Pennsylvania) to be present at and attend you in running the said line, and orders have been given for them to meet you at York town in Pennsylvania. As the public peace and your own security may greatly depend on the good usage and kind treatment of those deputies, we commit them to your particular care and recommend it to you in the most earnest manner not only to use them well yourselves, but to be careful that they receive no abuse or ill treatment from the men you may employ in carrying on the said work, and to do your utmost to protect them from the insults of all other persons whatsoever.

Chester Town, 18th June, 1767.

Signed, HORO. SHARPE,  
JOHN BARCLAY,

DAN OF S. THOS. IENIFER,  
J. BEALE BARDLEY,  
BENJAMIN CHEW,  
EDWARD SHIPPEN, JR.,  
THOMAS WILLING.

The following, under the same date and with all the commissioners' names attached, was given to Messrs. Mason and Dixon at the same time as the above:

The commissioners recommend to Messrs. Mason and Dixon that the spirituous liquors to be given to the Indians attending them be in small quantities mixed with water and delivered to them not more than three times a day.

Messrs. Mason and Dixon were engaged at this work about four years, and were finally stopped by the Indians at a point two hundred and forty-four miles west of the Delaware river, and thirty-six miles east of the terminus they were seeking.

This line, so famous during all the slavery agitation as the boundary between the northern and the southern states, has been often confounded both in England and America with the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes fixed by the Missouri compromise as the northern limit of slavery in the territories.

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GEORGE A. ROBERTSON,

## FOURIERISM IN WISCONSIN.

It is not often that the bare facts of history are romantic or picturesque. But sometimes, as now in Wisconsin, we find important exceptions to the rule, as well as new proof that history does, indeed, repeat itself.

Public attention is now closely directed toward such schemes as that of George Venable Smith's Puget Sound Colonization society, and that of A. K. Owen's "Credit Foncier," at Sinaloa, Mexico, by which the emancipation of mankind industrially, and their reformation socially, are to be attempted through principles and practices wholly unlike those which have forever governed the world. Yet these principles are not new, nor are they now put to practice for the first time, as many seem to think.

Francois Marie Charles Fourier, a native of France, was in many respects a wonderful man. Educated, indefatigable and patriotic, he devoted everything to mankind, nothing to himself. A little fortune inherited from his father was lost during the French Revolution, while he himself was in prison. Forced from the bastille into the army, he served two years and was then discharged on account of illness. At Marseilles he found employment in a large mercantile establishment in which almost his first duty was to destroy an enormous quan-

tity of rice, held for a higher price amidst a general scarcity of provisions until it had become unfit for food. This circumstance, together with other of the "outrageous frauds and duplicities of commerce," so impressed his mind that Fourier at once set about a prolonged and earnest inquiry into social problems, resulting in the system named, in his honor, Fourierism.

This devoted Frenchman, waiting patiently at a certain hour each day, until the close of his life, for a patron of wealth and influence to appear with the aid absolutely necessary to put his comprehensive plans into practical operation, died in disappointment. But Fourierism took hold of certain classes, nevertheless, and crossed over into America. Horace Greeley, while thundering against slavery, was an advocate of this new theory of dividing labor and its profits, promulgating his views in the *New York Tribune*.

In 1843, Southport (now Kenosha), on the shores of Lake Michigan, in Wisconsin territory, was a little town of intelligent New England people. They had come west to better their condition in life; and, reading in the *Tribune* descriptions of "the science of the new social relations," determined to test "its vast economies, its equitable distributions, its harmony of groups and series,



its attractive industry and its advantages for schools, meetings, parties and social festivities."

During the winter of 1843-4, the Franklin Lyceum, composed of the leading people of Southport, debated in various negative and positive forms the question: "Does the system of Fourier present a practicable plan for such a reorganization of society as will guard against our present social evils?" Among the debaters were Charles Durkee, the first Republican elected to the United States senate distinctly as such, and Louis P. Harvey, subsequently governor of Wisconsin. Those who believed Fourierism could be made to reform society, prevailed at last and an association called the "Wisconsin Phalanx" was formed, with shares at twenty-five dollars each.

The Territorial legislature granted a charter at its next sitting; but without waiting for this, the hearty and cheerful band of pioneer reformers set out in the spring of 1844, with oxen, horses, cattle, covered wagons, utensils and provisions, to settle in Ceresco valley, now covered by the beautiful city of Ripon, in central Wisconsin. The spot chosen for this curious social and industrial experiment was in as rich and lovely a valley as mortal eye ever beheld, watered by Silver creek, a clear, pure stream, large and swift enough to drive many wheels.

For a year the reformers lived in cheap dwellings; but in 1845, the Phalanx building, four hundred feet in length, consisting of two rows of tenements, with a hall between, under one roof, was erected. The Phalanx, comprising

about one hundred and fifty souls, had previously built a saw mill and grist mill, and now owned an abundance of stock and material, had several trains constantly going to Milwaukee to exchange products for goods, and was prosperous. The society soon began to have neighbors, too, in the persons of pioneers settling on the surrounding hills, who, however, eyed "the thing" with suspicion, predicting that great mischief would grow out of its extraordinary powers.

The style of living was termed unitary; that is, all ate at a common table but families retired to separate rooms after meals. All felt the advantages and economies of a common table, common farm, common mill, and common school, but presently a few families concluded it would better please them to have their meals in private, where they could scold and find fault without being overheard. They were, therefore, permitted to do their own cooking, drawing their provisions from the general store of the association. Single men and women were delighted with the arrangement, while others were divided in opinion upon the question of a community table.

All branches of labor were carried on under the direction of competent persons selected by the members, who were required to keep an exact account of labor and expense, so that the precise cost of any article or crop was easily obtained by any one, from the public books. All labor was voluntary, members working whenever and wherever they might elect, receiving credit only for the amount of work actually accom-

plished. At the end of the year, three-fourths of the net profits went to labor in proportion to the amount contributed by each. The evenings, after the duties of the day were ended, were divided "between business and sociality." Monday night was given to the business of the council, and on Tuesday evening there was a meeting of the Philolothian society, at which discussions upon progressive topics were held and a paper read called *The Gleaner*. The motto of this journal was, "Let the gleaner go forth and glean and gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." On Wednesday evening a singing school was held; Thursday was always set aside for a dance; Friday had no meeting, and Saturday was devoted to hearing the detailed reports of foremen.

The first annual report of the president showed that the property of the association, without a dollar of debt, was valued at \$27,752.22.

The whole number of hours of useful labor performed during the year was one hundred and two thousand seven hundred and sixty, from which twenty-one thousand one hundred and seventy were deducted for board and cooking; but each family did its own washing. The number of weeks of board charged to members, including children graduated to adults, was 4,234, the cost of which was five hours of labor and forty-four cents for provisions per week. Labor received seven and a half cents per hour, and stock, having one-fourth of the profits of all labor and business, received twelve per cent. for the year. Thus, it will be seen, board—food, fuel

and shelter—cost each adult eighty-one and a half cents per week.

In order that laborers should receive more exact justice, an attempt was made one year to give the more skilled and valuable men greater wages; but this created so much dissatisfaction that the plan had to be abandoned. Those who accomplished the most work had a right to more compensation, yet to grant it to them caused more trouble than to treat all alike—giving the slothful as much as the industrious. Another element of unrest was the size of families. The man with several children had, of course, more charged against him at the end of the year for board than man "with only one or none, while the earnings of each were the same. There was not the least injustice in this as a foundation for complaint; yet it was a source of jealousy, and helped to create sentiment in favor of dissolution.

Although the members of the Phalanx were clothed, fed, housed and enlightened better than the average of surrounding outsiders, one or two of the more aggressive males had an itching for speculation in land and town-sites. They were getting on well, but believed that the unbending rules of the Phalanx prevented the full play of their natural abilities, and therefore kept from them the rewards which come to ambition, craft and speculation in the freer race of individuals outside of such an organization. They were, of course, right, and here is where all similar organizations will fail. But it should be added that those who expected to become rich by freeing themselves from the restraints

of the Phalanx, and were thus the instruments of its dissolution, all died poor—most of them poorer, in fact, than they were when they left the society.

For seven years the society was prosperous, and, if it could have been continued in contentment, it would have been the centre to-day of great wealth and power.

Several natural causes tended to create uneasiness and dissatisfaction in the Phalanx, as we have stated; but the principal cause of disruption was the absolute and ever-present unwillingness of men of superior ambition and capabilities to toil through life yoked to, and shoulder to shoulder with, those of no ambition and inferior natural endowments—good, bad and indifferent to “share and share alike.”

If the historian may not draw conclusions or offer advice, perhaps he may soliloquize. If so, I will say that it does not seem to me possible at the present time to undertake to reform any part of the world through an ideal, a scientifically exact, system of coöperation, under circumstances so favorable as surrounded, from every point of view,

the Wisconsin Phalanx. Its members were young, strong, hopeful and earnest. Not only so, but they were above the average in education and intelligence, fully inured to pioneer hardships and thoroughly American—of thrifty, hardy New England stock. Their lands, purchased at government price, were the best and pleasantest to be found in a wide, unsettled domain; the surrounding country was growing in wealth and population, and, above all, although they themselves were reformers, they really had nothing to reform, not even one of their own number. They were men and women of upright actions and chaste thoughts—sound at the heart.

It was not such a case as that described by Bishop Heber, where

Every prospect pleases  
And only man is vile.

Nothing was vile; nothing was wrong, except that the Creator made no two of these pioneer reformers alike. How, then, could they be justly and satisfactorily governed and rewarded by the same rule?

FRANK A. FLOWER.

Indians of the party, with belts of wampum, "and induce them to take courage, that their father came only to treat with them of good things." So great were the difficulties of the passage down the Conewango, that it was not until noon of the twenty-ninth of July that they entered the Allegheny. Rowing across the latter stream, they landed on the southern bank. Here they resolved to bury the first of the leaden plates. By some inadvertence the first plate they prepared was spoiled by inserting the name of the Chautauqua creek instead of the Conewango. This plate was no doubt thrown aside as useless, and another one was prepared. The spoiled plate afterwards fell into the hands of some Senecas, who gave it to Colonel Johnson, the Indian agent. They represented that they had stolen it from Joncaire; but it is much more likely they found it where it had been thrown aside.\* A leaden plate was buried here, "at the foot of a red oak." A plate of sheet iron, bearing the arms of the French king, was also affixed to a tree. This leaden plate has never been found; the plate of sheet iron was soon afterwards torn down by the Indians.

Leaving this point, they proceeded

the affairs of the French in the Allegheny valley. The elder Joncaire, the father of Chabert, had been taken prisoner by the Indians some time prior to the year 1700. As a preliminary torment, a chief attempted to burn the captive's finger in his pipe, but Joncaire promptly knocked him down. This display of spirit delighted the Indians, and they spared his life, and adopted him into their tribe.—'Parkman's *Frontenac and New France*,' Chapter XXI.

\* See this question of "The Stolen Plate" discussed by the present writer in the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* for June, 1885.

the same day to an Indian village not far off, named Kanaouagon. As Joncaire had been sent ahead to notify the inhabitants, they were on the watch to receive the expedition. Celoron treated them to brandy and tobacco, and in return they gave him maize and squashes. A few miles below was the village of Cut Straw, at the mouth of what is now called Brokenstraw creek. Celoron invited the chiefs of Kanaouagon to meet him there, as he wished to address the Indians at that place. The next day, the thirtieth, he went to Cut Straw. Joncaire had preceded him, and had prevailed upon the people of the village to remain, as they were about to flee to the woods. Upon the arrival of Celoron the Indians presented him with two belts of wampum, and made a speech, in which they professed great joy at his arrival among them "in good health." Celoron replied to their speech, and presented them with three belts of wampum, in order to "open their ears" that they might hear well what he had to say on the part of their father, the governor-general of Canada. He assured them of the kindness and good will of the French; cautioned them against favoring or harboring the English among them, and urged them to drive them away. "Pay serious attention to the message which I send you," said he. "Listen to it well; follow it, it is the means of always seeing over your villages a beautiful and serene sky." "I am surprised, my children," he continued, "to see raised in your village a cabin destined to receive English traders. If you look upon yourselves as my



children, you will not continue this work; far from it, you will destroy it, and will no longer receive the English at your homes." In reply, the Indians promised that they would not suffer the English among them any more; "and this house," said they, "which is almost finished, will serve only as a recreation place for the youth."

Celoron remained at Cut Straw over the thirty-first of July, because of a heavy rain. The next day he proceeded on down the river. Some ten miles below he came to a village of about a dozen cabins; but all the people, except one man, had fled. The following day, at a larger town some ten or twelve miles farther down the stream, he again addressed the Indians in the same strain as at Cut Straw. There was perhaps a considerable gathering of natives here, as he had invited the inhabitants of several villages that he had passed on the way, to meet him at this place, which they did.

On the third of August he again set out, and went down to the mouth of French creek, called by him the River aux Boeufs, where was a village of eight or ten cabins. There were living here an English trader, whose name we do not know, and an English gunsmith, John Frazier, a person whose name often appears in the history of the border. The Indians in the meeting of the previous day, had complained to Celoron that if he drove the English away, and "in particular the blacksmith," who mended their guns and hatchets, they feared that they should be left to perish of "hunger and misery on the Beautiful

river;" and they begged that the English, at least "the blacksmith," might be allowed to remain over winter, or until they could go hunting, and they promised that by spring the English should all retire. Celoron confesses that their representations embarrassed him very much. But when he got to the village at the mouth of the River aux Boeufs, or, as it was afterwards called, Le Boeuf, he found that "the English, as well as the Indians, had gained the woods." Only five or six Indians, of the Iroquois nation, remained, who fired a salute of welcome. He did not tarry at this place, but again embarked, and proceeded about seven or eight miles farther on his way, where he stopped for the night. At the place of encampment was a large rock, the face of which bore a number of figures, "rudely enough carved." This rock, which is known as the "Indian God," still remains as Celoron found it, and marks the site of his encampment. The inscription on the rock, says Schoolcraft, appears distinctly to record, in symbols, the triumphs in hunting and war.\* Here Celoron buried the second of the leaden plates, "directly opposite a naked mountain," and near this carved rock. This plate has never been found.

On the following morning it was determined that Joncaire should precede the party to Attique, a considerable village some distance down the river, and assure the inhabitants of the amicable intentions of the expedition. By

\*See description of this famous rock, with illustrative plate, in 'Schoolcraft's Indian Antiquities,' Part IV., p. 172.

Attique was meant the town generally called by the English, Kittanning.\* It occupied the site of the present town of this name, the capital of Armstrong county. Joncaire at once set out. Celoron followed more leisurely. The latter went that day about thirty-five miles. The next day they started pretty early. They passed several streams, of which Celoron makes note, and he observes that on the higher grounds by the river were villages of Loups and Iroquois of the Five Nations. They encamped that day at an early hour, "in order to give M. de Joncaire time to reach the village of Attique." The next morning, after going eight or ten miles, they arrived at Attique. They found Joncaire awaiting them there, but the inhabitants of the town had fled. The place contained twenty-two cabins. The Indians who lived here were Loups. A chief with two young warriors had tarried to observe what should be done. Seeing Joncaire but slenderly accompanied, he had approached him, and demanded to know what he wanted. This man Joncaire attempted to conciliate with fair speeches, and induced him to carry some belts of wampum to the villages farther down the river, and urge the people to remain at their homes, and not run away upon the approach of the expedition. If the chief executed his commission, he does not seem to have been eminently successful.

Celoron remained at Attique but a short time, and then proceeded on his

way. Some hours afterwards he reached Chartier's town, which stood on the right bank of the Allegheny, not far below the site of the present town of Freeport. Here he found six English soldiers, as he calls them, more probably traders, with fifty horses and about one hundred and fifty bales of furs, on their way to the east. Chartier's town was a well known place. It was the point of departure from the Allegheny on the Kiskiminetas route between the east and the west. The town had been abandoned for some years, and was generally called Chartier's old town. Celoron does not seem to have known the name, and terms it simply "an old village of the Shawanese." He warned the English whom he found here, against intruding upon what he claimed was the territory of the French king, and by them sent a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. This letter has been preserved in the archives of the state.† Governor Hamilton informs the assembly that he had received three letters from one signing himself "Celoron," laying claim to the back part of the colony in the name of the French king. One of these letters, as we have just seen, was written at Chartier's town; one was written the next day at a village which Celoron calls the Written Rock, which was no doubt Shannopin's town, which stood on the bank of the Allegheny river

\* This has been conclusively shown by the editor of the *Historical Researches*. See Vol. I., pp. 26-30, and Vol. II., pp. 105-107.

† For the want of proper information on the subject, our local antiquaries have had a good deal of difficulty to harmonize the date of this letter, August 6, with the movements of Celoron; but in the light of Celoron's Journal the difficulty has vanished.

within the limits of the present city of Pittsburgh. From this latter village the Indians had all fled. They were ruled, says Celoron, by an old woman "who looks upon herself as a queen, and is entirely devoted to the English." The old woman was no doubt Queen Aliquippa. Here he found six English traders, who came "all trembling" before him when he landed. He gave them the same warning as the others, and by them sent a letter to the governor. Where the third letter was written we do not know—most likely at Logstown.\* The traders at Written Rock told him they would withdraw; "that they knew well that they had no right to trade, but not having encountered any obstacles up to the present, they had sought to gain their livelihood; and the more so, as the Indians had attracted them thither, but that henceforward they would not return." Celoron

\* At Logstown also he summoned the English traders before him, and gave them the same warning as the others. He adds, "I wrote to the governor of Carolina in terms similar to those I had employed in writing to the governor at Philadelphia"—whether he means just then or before, we cannot say.

describes the place as the most attractive that he had yet seen on the Beautiful river. He calls it Written Rock, no doubt from the circumstance that a short distance below he passed a rock on which were "certain writings." The writings, upon investigation, turned out to be only some English names written with charcoal. He encamped on the evening of the seventh of August, about three leagues below the forks of the Ohio. It is worthy of remark that Celoron makes no mention of the Monongahela river; why the omission, it is impossible to conceive.† The next day early he arrived at Chiningue, or Logstown, on the right bank of the Ohio, eighteen miles below the village of Written Rock.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

† This is the more surprising, as the Monongahela was then, even more than at present, more noticeable than the Allegheny, to one looking back in descending the Ohio. "Upon looking back," says Arthur Lee, "you see at some distance, directly up the Monongahela, but the point of the two banks only, that form the mouth of the Allegheny, is visible, none of its waters." *Arthur Lee's Journal*, December 17, 1784.

## MILWAUKEE.

## I.

EXCEEDINGLY limited is our knowledge of the prehistoric people whose earthworks recently were plainly to be seen, in considerable profusion, on the site of Milwaukee. Although nearly every vestige of their labor may now be said to have disappeared within the limits of the city, the curious outlines of their so-called "mounds" are still remembered, and drawings of many of them, with the exact point of their location, have been preserved.\* Who were these occupiers of the east and west banks of the Milwaukee river, where now are miles of crowded streets, and where now is heard, on every hand, the hum of such varied industries? There are no traditions of their power, of their wisdom, of their numbers;—indeed, no record of their having lived here or in this vicinity has been discovered, except in the tumuli to which reference has just been made.

Pleasant would be the task to trace a connection between the almost mythical Mound-Builders and the red race which had representatives, at an early day, in scattered villages along the western shore of Lake Michigan; but, on every

hand, in such investigation, there is vagueness, doubt, perplexity; and we are compelled to admit that there is no account of the Indians of this region, antedating the advent, in the seventeenth century, of Europeans into the great valley of the St. Lawrence.

John Nicolet, in 1634, discovered Lake Michigan. He ascended the Fox river of Green bay to a point within the limits of what is now Green Lake county, Wisconsin. He was the first white man who gave to the world information concerning a nation of Indians, which he called "Pououtouatami," now known as the Pottawattamie nation. Their country was somewhere to the southward of Lake Superior, but its exact locality is unknown. Whether Nicolet actually saw any of the tribe is not certain; but, in the autumn of 1641, two Jesuit missionaries—Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault—harranged them and many other Algonquins, at the "Sault," on the watercourse leading from Lake Superior to Lake Huron. At that point dwelt the Chippewas, and the Pottawattamies had taken refuge with them, so as to be secure from their relentless enemies, the Sioux, who, living to the westward, had driven them

\* See Lapham's 'Antiquities of Wisconsin,' plates iii, iv, v, vi and vii.



in upon these "People of the Falls"—as the Chippewas were sometimes called.\*

To trace the Pottawattamies from the time they first heard the two Jesuit Fathers at the "Sault" tell the story of the cross, to the date when a small clan of them is known to have actually occupied the mouth of the Milwaukee river, along with Indians of two other nations, is to catch but a glimpse of these people at different periods, down to the very close of the seventeenth century.

Whether the irruption of the Iroquois into the country of the upper lakes had anything to do with the first migrations of the Pottawattamies after the year 1641, is not known; nevertheless, soon after the Hurons and other Algonquins were driven westward by these implacable enemies, we find the first-mentioned also moving in the same direction, locating themselves on the islands at

the mouth of Green bay and along its southeastern shore. The missionary, Allouez, in 1667, at what is now Ashland bay, Wisconsin, was visited by three hundred of them. "They are people," says he, "who speak Algonquin; but they are much more difficult to understand than the Ottawas. Their country is about Lake Michigan [he calls it Lake of the Illinois].† This is a great lake that has not yet come particularly to our knowledge. It adjoins Lake Huron and Green bay [Lake of the Puants, as Allouez calls it], between the east and the south."

The Jesuit Father then goes on to describe the Pottawattamies. "They are," he says, "a warlike people, hunters and fishermen; their country is very good for Indian corn, of which they plant fields, and to which they very willingly retire to avoid the famine that is too common in these quarters. They are in the highest degree idolaters, attached to ridiculous fables,‡ and de-

\* Vimont, 'Relation,' 1640 (Quebec ed.), p. 35. 'New York Colonial Documents,' Vol. IX, pp. 153, 161. C. W. Butterfield's 'History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet, in 1634,' p. 53.

As the Sioux dwelt upon the upper waters of the Mississippi, and drove the Pottawattamies to seek the protection of the Chippewas, the fleeing tribe must have had their former home to the westward of the "Sault," with the Fox river and Green bay, on which several other nations were seated, to the south or southeast of them. They could not have had their previous dwelling-place at the mouth of Green bay, as, in the work last cited, I have inferred (see p. 72); nor could it have been located very far away from Lake Winnebago, as the savages who gave name to that lake were neighbors of the Pottawattamies. The ancient home—the original country—of the Pottawattamies was the lower peninsula of Michigan.—Vimont, 'Relation,' 1640, (Quebec ed.) p. 35.

† Literally: "Their country is in the lake of the Illinieuque"—the inference being that they inhabited islands in the lake of the Illinois; i. e., at the mouth of Green bay. They probably settled there before the year 1658, as they were visited in that locality by the Hurons in their flight westward during that year; the last-named reached the Mississippi the next year (1659).

‡ Apropos of this, we may say that the traditions of the Pottawattamies, as recorded by Father De Smet ('Oregon Missions,' p. 343), gave Longfellow some of the matter of his "Hiawatha."

Should you ask me whence these stories?  
Whence these legends and traditions,  
With the odor of the forest,  
With the dew and damp of meadows,  
With the curling smoke of wigwams,  
With the rushing of great rivers,

voted to polygamy. We all have seen them here, to the number of three hundred men, bearing arms. Of all the people that I have associated with in these countries, they are the most docile, and the most affectionate toward the French. Their wives and daughters are more reserved than those of other nations. They have a species of civility among them and make it apparent to strangers, which is very rare among our barbarians."

While at Ashland bay the missionary had a strange experience to relate concerning the death of one of the ancestors of Milwaukee's historic people. We have already mentioned the circumstance of the arrival of three hundred Pottawattamies where Allouez was stationed. He tells us that as soon as they arrived he visited them and was received with distinction, though in quite an odd style. In the first place, the leader of the band asked him for his shoes; the Father gave them, and the Indian, after considering them attentively, handed them back—it was an act of curiosity, and when that was gratified the shoes were given to their owner with every mark of respect. All charmed the good Father by their gentle manners, and the instructions which he addressed

to them he would fain believe were not useless.

Among the Pottawattamie visitors was an old man close on his hundredth year, and who was regarded in his nation as divine. He fasted, it was said, as much as twenty days at a time, taking no nourishment, and seeing during these fast days the Maker of the Earth—a term, we are told, employed by those Indians to express the true God. The old man fell sick at the bay and his life was soon despaired of. Two of his daughters, we are assured, who had been among the most assiduous auditors at the missionary's instructions, and had been touched by them, repeated to him all they could recollect and urged him to seek instruction himself. He consented. Father Allouez, notified by his two proselytes, paid him a visit, found him extremely docile, and, deeming him not long for this world, baptized him.

At this juncture the Feast of Dreams arrived. The dying man called the missionary and begged of him a blue blanket. The father wished to know of him his object in making the request. "Because," he replied "blue is the color of Heaven, whither I hope soon to go, and of which alone I wish henceforth to think." He died a few days after, saying, with great fervor of spirit: "Lord, I have begun very late to love thee."\*

With their frequent repetitions,  
And their wild reverberations,  
As of thunder in the mountains?

I should answer, I should tell you,  
"From the forests and the prairies,  
From the great lakes of the Northland,  
From the land of the Ojibways,  
From the land of the Dakotahs,  
From the mountains, moors and fenlands,  
Where the heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah,  
Feeds among the reeds and rushes."

\* Such was the conclusion of the old man's life, according to the historian of New France (see Shea's 'Charlevoix,' Vol. III, pp. 104, 105); however, in the 'Relation' of 1667, Allouez does not say that the old Indian asked him for a blanket, but sent around through the lodges to get one, and the missionary is also silent as to the last words of the dying savage. (See p. 9, Quebec ed.)

Father Allouez, we are assured, although the missionary himself does not say so, prepared to inter the remains of the dead Pottawattamie according to Christian usage, but was greatly surprised to find himself anticipated, and that the savages were burning the body. As this was not usual among those people, he asked the reason of the novelty. An Indian with a serious air replied: "Because the deceased's father was a hare, who one day said to his wife that he would take it amiss that his children should be put in the earth after their death, since they were of kin to the snow, which has a heavenly origin. He added that, if they ever acted contrary to his intentions on this point, he would pray the snow to fall in such great abundance that there should be no spring that year." This reply made the missionary laugh; but his endeavors to make those present see the absurdity of the whole matter proved unavailing. The two daughters of the old man, who had so great a share in their father's conversion, we are told, "received the same grace from Heaven, and persevered to the end in the practice of Christian virtues."\*

So favorably impressed was Father Allouez with his Pottawattamie visitors, that it is a matter of little wonder he should soon determine to found a mission among them in their own country. However, as the sequel shows, he was preceded in his journey thither by French traders, and at least one explorer. The Pottawattamies, at least

most of them, had left their islands and had built their villages on the shores of Green bay. Fear of the Iroquois was probably the inducement for this removal, and even in their new homes, as we shall presently see they were not out of reach of their eastern enemies.

The governor-general of Canada had heard that there were copper mines in the vicinity of Lake Superior. This induced the sending of Louis Joliet to see if they could be found. This hardy explorer left Montreal in 1668, with four canoes and some merchandise for the Ottawas. He made his way by the usual route of the Ottawa and French rivers to the upper lakes and visited the Pottawattamies in their homes, the first of white men, so far as it is known, to visit, after Nicolet, the country bordering on Green bay. That he may have been preceded by French traders is true, but there is no evidence of the fact extant. The only news he brought of the Pottawattamies that has been preserved is the fact of their standing very much in need of spiritual instruction—"in grievous need of spiritual succor."† He discovered no copper mines in the country of the upper lakes.

Allouez, who had returned to the "Sault," set out with two companions, on the third of November, 1669, for the homes of the Pottawattamies, two canoes of those savages desiring to take him to their country, not to get instruction from him, "they having no dispo-

† Parkman's 'La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,' pp. 16, 48, 49. See, also, Vol. IV, p. 706, of this Magazine.

\* Shea's 'Charlevoix,' Vol. III, p. 105.

sition to receive the faith," but that he might mollify some young Frenchmen who were among them for the purpose of trading, who not only ill-treated them, but threatened them." It was, therefore, so far as is known, with the Pottawatamies that Frenchmen from the St. Lawrence opened up the first trade in Wisconsin. On his first day's journey, the missionary reached Lake Huron and slept under the shelter of the islands; "but the length of the voyage and the difficulties of the route, in consequence of the lateness of the season, hastened us," he declares, "to have recourse to St. Francis Xavier, the patron of our mission, by obliging me to celebrate the holy mass and my two companions to commune on the day of the festival in his honor, and further to invoke his aid twice every day by reciting his prayers."

About mid-day on the fourth of November, Allouez "doubled the cape which formed the bend," and which is the commencement of the Strait of Mackinaw, leading, he assures us, into the Lake of the Illinois (Lake Michigan), "as yet unexplored, though much smaller, than Lake Huron." Toward evening the contrary wind, which was near driving the travelers on the reefs of rocks, obliged them to cut short their day's journey. On the morning of the fifth, when Allouez awoke, he found himself and companions covered with snow, and the edges of the water frozen. "This little forecast of affliction," exclaimed the missionary, "which it has pleased our Lord that we should experience, invited us to offer ourselves for still

greater." And he goes on to say: "It was with great difficulty that we embarked with all the clothing and provisions, being obliged to enter the water with our bare feet, in order to keep the canoe afloat, otherwise it would have broken. Having passed a great number of islands towards the north, we were detained," he continues, "during six days by the bad weather. The snow and frost menacing us with ice, my companions had recourse to St. Anna, to whom we recommended our voyage, praying her, with St. Francis Xavier, to take us under their protection."

Notwithstanding a contrary wind, the party embarked on the eleventh; they crossed to another island, thence to the mainland, where they found two Frenchmen, doubtless traders, with several savages. Allouez learned from them the great danger to which he and his companions were about to expose themselves, in consequence of the storms so frequent on Lake Michigan, and the ice which would very soon begin to float; but all this was insufficient to destroy the confidence they had placed in St. Francis Xavier and Ste. Anne—their protectors. "We launched the canoe into the water," says the Father, "after having invoked their aid, and soon had the good fortune to double in safety the cape which turns off to the west, having left behind us a great island called Michilimakinak."\*

At was a month after Allouez got to the end of his journey. "It came to a

\* 'Relation,' 1670 (Quebec ed.), p. 93. I have followed, substantially, the translation given in 'Smith's History of Wisconsin,' Vol. III.



close on the second of December," he afterward wrote, "the eve of the day of St. Francis Xavier, by our arrival at the place where the Frenchmen were, who aided us to celebrate the festival with all the solemnity that was possible." There were eight of his countrymen at the Indian village. He was greeted, by them and by six hundred savages, of four different nations—Pottawattamies, Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes. The place chosen for the winter quarters of these savages was upon the west side of Green bay, not far from the mouth of the Fox river; and across that body of water, eight French leagues distant, was another village, exclusively of Pottawattamies, numbering about three hundred souls; and still another, not far from the last-mentioned, composed in the greater part of the same nation. To all these savages Allouez, until the middle of April, 1670, gave instruction in the faith, when he departed for other fields of labor, not having, by the erection of a chapel, precisely located a mission among them.\*

Notwithstanding the Pottawattamies had already obtained fire-arms of French traders, and could make progress by aid of these, in withstanding the attacks of the relentless Iroquois, the latter were still dreaded as the most powerful of foes. The Senecas, from their homes in what is now the western part of the state of New York, very soon after the departure of Allouez, attacked the villages of the Pottawattamies, killing a number and carrying off a score or

more of prisoners,† doomed, of course, to be tortured at the stake; however, eight of them were saved through the intercession of the governor-general of New France.‡ It was now that the Pottawattamies began to turn their faces up the coast of Lake Michigan, clans of the nation gradually advancing southward, until, as will hereafter be seen, the Milwaukee river was reached. However, their occupation of the basin of the lake was not until a period subsequent to its exploration by civilized men.

So far as we know, the first white men to move along the western shore of Lake Michigan, at any considerable distance south from the mouth of Green bay, was a small band of Frenchmen, under the leadership of that renowned adventurer—the *Sieur de La Salle*. They were the first to visit the Milwaukee country, perhaps the first to discover the Milwaukee river. They had been sent by Talon, the intendant of Canada, to the "southwest and south" from the St. Lawrence, "to discover the South Sea passage." A narrative of La Salle's exploration, which occurred after 1669 and before 1673, runs thus:

He traversed Lake Erie towards the north, ascended the river out of which it flows, passed the Lake of Dirty Water [St. Clair], entered the Fresh-water Sea [Lake Huron], doubled the point of land

† Thirty-five, according to Charlevoix; twenty-five or thirty, according to the 'Relation' of 1671. There is no positive record that any were killed of the Pottawattamies when assailed by the Senecas; but so large a number of prisoners could not have been secured, it is believed, without some scalps having been taken.

\* 'Relation,' 1670 (Quebec ed.), pp. 95, 96.

‡ Shea's 'Charlevoix,' Vol. III, pp. 161, 162.

that cuts this sea in two [Lakes Huron and Michigan], and descending from north to south, leaving on the west the Bay of Puans [Green bay], discovered a bay incomparably larger [the upper and principal part of Lake Michigan] at the bottom of which, towards the west, he found a beautiful harbor.\*

Of his return, after reaching the Mississippi river by way of the Illinois, with his "handful of followers," there is no account. It would be gratifying could we give the names, even, of his companions, if nothing more.

Following the exploration of La Salle was the visit, to Green bay and Fox river, of Nicholas Perrot. The occasion was this: The French government had determined upon the development of New France. The whole interior not yet formerly declared to belong to the king, was to be taken possession of in his name. Daumont de Saint-Lusson was made choice of to lead the undertaking. The Indian nations of the upper lakes and of the country contiguous thereto, were to be called together at the Sault de Ste. Marie, below the outlet of Lake Superior, in the spring of 1661, to give in their submission to, and to crave protection of their "great father" on the other side of the "big water." Saint-Lusson set out with a small party of men, and among them were some brave hearts. Nicholas Perrot, already mentioned, was employed as interpreter. He had already been in the country of the upper lakes, and he had, too, been at the homes of the Pottawattamies. As guide went Louis Joliet. Saint-Lusson wintered at the Manitoulin islands (for he had

left the St. Lawrence in the latter half of 1670), while Perrot, having first sent messages to the tribes of the north inviting them to the "Sault," proceeded to Green bay to urge the Pottawattamies and other nations to attend the meeting. By the fifth of May, 1671, he had gathered at the place appointed for the ceremonies, chiefs of not only the Pottawattamies but of the Sacs, Winnebagoes and Menomonees. Saint-Lusson had preceded him at the "Sault" with his men, fifteen in number, and when fourteen tribes, or their representatives, had assembled, he took possession, "in the name of the most high, mighty and redoubted monarch, Louis, fourteenth of that name, most Christian king of France and Navarre," of a large extent of country, including the site of what is now the city of Milwaukee, which thus passed under the domination of France. This was on the fourth day of June, 1671.†

Notwithstanding the French government had taken possession of the country of the upper lakes as a part of New France, the Mississippi river, above the point where it was first seen by La Salle (that is, above the mouth of the Illinois river), had not been visited by any white man. Louis Joliet was commissioned in 1672, to discover, by a somewhat different route than the one to the "southward and southwestward"—the one taken by La Salle—"the South Sea,

† 'Margry,' Vol. I, pp. 96-99. 'Relation,' 1671 (Quebec ed.), pp. 26, 27. Parkman's 'La Salle,' pp. 44-46. Shea's 'Charlevoix,' Vol. III, pp. 165-169. See, also, pp. 49-51 of this volume of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

\* 'Margry,' Vol. I, p. 378.

and the great river they call the Mississippi, which is supposed to discharge itself into the Sea of California;" for the reason that La Salle's discovery had not been made known; or, being known, it was considered that another river, not the real Mississippi, had been brought by him to the knowledge of the civilized world. The story of the exploration of Joliet and of his complete success in 1673, has often been told;—how, at Michilimackinac, on his way out, he stopped at a Jesuit mission presided over by Father James Marquette; how, with the good Father in his company, and five French *engages*, he pursued his journey to Green bay, up that body of water and the Fox river to the "portage," thence across to the Wisconsin and down that stream to the Mississippi; how, after floating many leagues down the great river, he returned by way of the Illinois, the Chicago river and Lake Michigan—the second white man, as a leader, to pass along the shore of that lake, entering and crossing with his party, of course, the bay of Milwaukee, and proceeding onward to Green bay. Marquette, who subsequently sent to Europe a journal of the exploration, which has been published, gives no particulars of the voyage after leaving the Illinois. "We found there" [on the Illinois river], says he, "an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins; they received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe with his young men, escorted us to the Illinois lake [Lake Michigan], whence at last we returned

in the close of September [1673] to the bay of the Fetid [Green bay], whence we had set out in the beginning of June."\*

From what is now Depere, Brown county, Wisconsin, Marquette, with two companions, started, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1674, to fulfill his promise of returning to Kaskaskia, on the Illinois river. His journal is interesting. "In the afternoon," says the missionary, "the wind forced us to lay up for the night at the mouth of the [Fox] river, where the Pottawattamies were assembled." The next day we went to the village but found only two cabins. He there learned that five canoes of Pottawattamies and four of Illinois had set out to go to the Kaskaskia village; these Indians he overtook at Sturgeon bay. He reached the "portage" on the twenty-eighth; he describes it as "about a league long and very inconvenient in some part."† On the thirtieth he was helped across to Lake Michigan by some of the "Illinois women," and the next day started up the lake "with pretty fair weather," stopping at a little river. On the eve of November 1, he halted at night at a river, from which a fine road led to the Pottawattamies. Here, then, for the first time, we have positive evidence that clans of this nation were moving toward the south and domiciling themselves permanently

\* For an excellent translation of Marquette's Journal, see Shea's 'Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,' pp. 3-52.

† A ship canal now connects the waters of the lake with those of the bay across this portage, as is well known.

in villages as they migrated. The town spoken of by Marquette was probably not far from either the present Two Rivers or Manitowoc, Wisconsin.

The journal of Marquette from this time until he reached the mouth of the Chicago river is of much interest. He says:

[November] 2. Holy mass said; we traveled all day with fair weather. We killed two cats [raccoons?], which were almost clear fat.

3.—As I was on land walking on the beautiful sand, the whole edge of the water was of herbs similar to those caught in nets at St. Ignace; but, coming to a river which I could not cross, our people put in to take me on board, but we could not get out again on account of the swell. All the other canoes went on, except the one that came with us.

4.—We are detained. There is apparently an island off shore, as the birds fly there in the evening.

5.—We had hard work to get out of the river. At noon we found the Indians in a river, where I undertook to instruct the Illinois on occasion of a feast, which Nowaskingwe had just given to a wolfskin.

6.—We made a good day's travel. As the Indians were out hunting, they came on some foot-prints of men, which obliged us to stop next day.

9.—We landed at two o'clock, on account of the fine camping. We were detained here five days, because of the great agitation of the lake, though there was no wind, then by the snow, which the sun and a wind from the lake melted next day.

15.—After traveling sufficiently, we camped in a beautiful spot, where we were detained three days. Pierre [one of Marquette's companions] mended an Indian's gun. Snow falls at night and melts by day.

20.—We slept at the bluffs, cabined poorly enough. The Indians remain behind while we are detained by the wind two days and a half. Pierre going into the woods, finds the prairie twenty leagues from the portage. He also passed by a beautiful canal, vaulted as it were, about as high as a man; there was a foot of water in it.

21.—Having started about noon, we had hard enough work to make a river. The cold began from the east and the ground was covered with a foot of snow, which remained constantly from that time. We were detained there three days, during which Pierre killed a deer, three wild geese and three turkeys, which were very good. The others passed on to the prairies.

An Indian having discovered some cabins came to tell us. Jacques [the other of Marquette's companions] went with him there the next day. Two hunters also came to see me. They were Mascoutins, and belonged to a party of eight or nine cabins, who had separated from each other to be able to live. They travel all winter, with hardships almost impossible for Frenchmen, by very difficult roads, the land being full of streams, small lakes and marshes. They are very badly cabined, and eat or fast, according to the spot where they happen to be. Having been detained by the wind, we remarked that there were large sand-banks off the shore, on which the waves broke continually. At this camp I felt some symptoms of dysentery.

27.—We had hard enough work to get out of the river, and, having made about three leagues, we found the Indians [the Pottawattamies and Illinois], who had killed some buffalo, and also three Indians who had come from the [Mascoutin] village. We were detained there by a wind from the shore, by immense waves that came from the lake, and by the cold.

December 1.—We went ahead of the Indians so as to be able to say mass.

3.—Having said mass and embarked, we were compelled to make a point and land, on account of the fog.

4.—We started well to reach Portage [Chicago] river, which was frozen half a foot thick. There was more snow there than anywhere else, also more tracks of animals and turkeys. The navigation of the lake from one portage [beginning opposite Sturgeon bay] to the other [the mouth of the Chicago river] is quite fine, there being no traverse to make and landing being quite feasible all along, providing you do not obstinately persist in traveling in the breakers and high winds. The land along the shore is good for nothing, except on the prairies. You meet eight or ten pretty fine rivers. Deer hunting is good as you get away from the Pottawattamies.\*

\* From an unfinished letter of Father Marquette to Father Claude Dablon, superior of the missions, containing a journal of his last visit to the Illinois. This will be found printed entire in the French language in Shea's 'Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,' pp. 258-266, and an English translation of it (which, in the above extract, I have mainly followed) in the Historical Magazine, Vol. V, (April, 1861) p. 100, also by Shea. The description of the west shore of Lake Michigan above Green bay thus given is the earliest extant.



Marquette reached Kaskaskia—the village of the Illinois Indians—and established a mission, to which he gave the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. On attempting to return to his former mission, on the north side of the Straits of Mackinaw, death overtook him in the Michigan peninsula. This event happened on the eighteenth of May, 1675. Father Claude Allouez, then at the Green bay mission, having been appointed to the Illinois mission, at Kaskaskia, on the death of Marquette, started for the field of his labor, journeying as did his predecessor, along the west shore of Lake Michigan. Some of his experiences are interesting. He says :

I embarked about the close of October, 1676, in a canoe with two men to endeavor to go and winter with the Illinois ; but I had not got far when the ice prevented us from traveling, so early had the winter set in. This obliged us to lie to and wait till it was strong enough to bear us ; and it was only in February [1677] that we undertook a very extraordinary kind of navigation ; for, instead of putting the canoe in the water, we put it on the ice, on which a favorable wind carried it along by sails as if it was on water. When the wind failed us, instead of paddles, we used ropes to drag it as horses do a carriage.

Passing near the Pottawattamies, I learned that a young man had been lately killed by bears. I had previously baptized him at Lapointe du St. Esprit [Ashland bay], and was acquainted with his parents ; this obliged me to turn a little off my way to go and console them. They told me that the bears get fat in the fall and remain so, and even grow fatter during the whole winter, although they do not eat, as naturalists have remarked. They hide in hollow trees, especially the females, to bring forth their young, or else they lie on fir branches, which they tear off on purpose to make a bed on the snow ; this they do not leave all winter, unless discovered by the hunters and their dogs trained to this chase. This young man, having discovered one hidden in some fir branches, fired all the arrows of his quiver at him.

The bear, feeling himself wounded, but not mortally, rose, rushed upon him, clawed off his scalp and tearing out his bowels, scattered him all in pieces around. I found his mother in deep affliction. We offered up together prayers for the deceased, and, though my presence at first had redoubled her grief, she wiped away her tears, saying, for consolation : " Paulinus is dead—that good Paulinus whom thou didst always come to call to prayer."

Then, to avenge, as they said, this murder, the relatives and friends of the deceased made war on the bears while they were good for eating—that is, during the winter ; for, in the summer, they are lean and so famished that they eat even toads and snakes. The war was so vigorous that in a little while they killed more than five hundred, which they shared with us, saying that God had given them into our hands to make them atone for the death of this young man who had been so cruelly treated by one of them.

Twelve leagues from the Pottawattamie town, we entered a very deep bay [Sturgeon Bay], whence we transported our canoe across the wood to the great lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan]. This portage was a league and a half. On the eve of St. Joseph, the patron of all Canada, finding ourselves on the lake, we gave it the name of that great saint, and shall henceforth call it Lake St. Joseph. We accordingly embarked on the twenty-third of March, and had much trouble with the ice through which we had to break a passage. The water was so cold that it froze on our oars and on the side of the canoe which the sun did not reach. It pleased God to deliver us from the danger we were in on landing, when a gust of wind drove the cakes of ice on one side of our canoe and the other side against the ice which was fast to the shore.

Our great trouble was that the rivers being still frozen we could not enter them till the third of April. We consecrated that which we at last entered in holy week, by planting a large cross on the shore, in order that the Indians who go there in numbers to hunt—either in canoes on the lake or on foot in the woods—might remember the instructions we had given them on that mystery, and that the sight of it might excite them to pray. The next day we saw a rock seven or eight feet out of water and two or three fathoms around, and called it the " Pitch rock." In fact, we saw the pitch running down in little drops on the side which was warmed by the sun. We gathered some and found it good to pitch our canoes, and I even use it to seal my letters. We also saw the

same day another rock, a little smaller, part in and part out of the water; the part washed by the water was of a very bright and clear red. Some days after we saw a stream running from a hill, the waters of which seemed mineral; the sand is red and the Indians said it came from a little lake where they have found pieces of copper.

We advanced, coasting always along vast prairies that stretched away beyond our sight. From time to time we saw trees, but so ranged that they seemed planted designedly to form alleys more agreeable to the sight than those of orchards. The foot of these trees is often watered by little streams, where we saw herds of stags and does drinking and feeding quietly on the young grass. We followed these vast plains for twenty leagues, and often said: "*Benedicite opera Domini Domino.*"

After making seventy-six leagues on Lake St. Joseph, we at last entered the river which leads to the Illinois [the Chicago river]. I here met eighty Indians of the country by whom I was handsomely received.\*

Allouez made but a brief stay at Kaskaskia, which he safely reached; but he returned again the next year "to labor more solidly for the conversion of these tribes." His second visit, however, was soon terminated. The record of his journey (as well as that of Marquette), along the western side of Lake Michigan, while not positively identifying the site of what is now the city of Milwaukee, clearly shows that there was no Indian village on the immediate shore of the lake between the point immediately opposite the head of Sturgeon bay and the mouth of the Chicago river.

We now reach the period when explorers of another character than the "black

robes" begin to move along the eastern side of what is now the state of Wisconsin. Their brief mention of the country is our only guide to the progress of the savages toward the Milwaukee region for a number of years.

The time had come when missionary efforts to convert the savages of the upper lakes to the true faith were not enough to satisfy the longings of Frenchmen; nor was it enough that a considerable trade in furs was opened up with the tribes to the westward and south-westward of Lake Huron. Someone must "undertake to plant colonies in these beautiful countries," and La Salle was the master-spirit to move in the undertaking. Above Niagara Falls, he built the *Griffin*, and on the seventh of August, 1679, he and his followers embarked. In September, the vessel dropped her anchor near one of the islands at the entrance of Green bay. He had previously dispatched a party to the west, and here he met some of them returned from the Illinois, with a considerable amount of furs. Loading his vessel, he started her on her return trip, while he and his companions continued their journey in canoes, up the western shore of Lake Michigan.

La Salle left the Pottawattamie island (where he lost sight of the *Griffin* on the eighteenth of September, on her homeward voyage, never to see the vessel again, as she foundered in the lake) with fourteen persons, in four canoes, loaded with "a forge and all its appurtenances, carpenters', joiners' and pit-sawyers' tools, arms and merchandise," on the nineteenth of September. It

\* "Narrative of Voyage made to the Illinois, by Father Claude Allouez," in Shea's 'Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,' pp. 70-73. Two or three verbal changes have been made in so much of the "Narrative" as is included in the above extract; but only where, in each case, the sense evidently demands it.

was the first "civilized" cargo that was ever transported up Lake Michigan, but it was not landed either at Milwaukee or Chicago; for these places did not exist, even in name, at that date. Very little is recorded of the country bordering on the lake, in the account given of the voyage, and only one village—a Pottawattamie—is mentioned, the same, doubtless, as that spoken of by Marquette, lying a little distance back from the shore of Lake Michigan, in a southeast direction from the head of Green bay. Doubtless he saw the mouth of the Milwaukee river, as his canoes were paddled along the shore of Milwaukee bay, but no streams are particularly mentioned until he entered the mouth of the St. Joseph, after having rounded the head of the lake.\* La Salle reached the Illinois river—the objective point of his expedition—in safety, and many were his journeyings afterward in the west, until his death in 1687.

Two faithful adherents of La Salle were Henry de Tonty and M. Joutel. The former, placed in command of Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois, after the departure of his superior, had occasion, in 1684, to send to Michilimackinac to Captain Oliver Morel de la Durantaye, who commanded there, for assistance against the Iroquois. The captain reached Tonty by way of Chicago river

in good time with sixty Frenchmen. Not long subsequent to this, he erected a fort on the stream just mentioned, where, in the last days of 1685, Tonty, in journeying from Michilimackinac to his post on the Illinois, found him in command. But this fort was soon abandoned.† Now, in these various journeys up and down Lake Michigan there was no record kept which throws light upon the condition of the Indian tribes along the western side of that body of water or of the migration of any of them; not even a mention is made of any village which may have been seen by the travelers. However, M. Joutel, in making his way back to Canada from the scene of La Salle's assassination, is not so chary of information.

"We entered" says he, "upon the lake [Michigan] on the fifth of April [1688], keeping on the north [west] side to shun the Iroquois. We had some storms also, and saw swelling waves like those of the sea, but arrived safe on the fifteenth, at a river called Quinetonan, near a village, whence the inhabitants [Indians] depart during the winter season, to go hunting, and reside there all the summer."

"On the twenty-eighth," continues Joutel, "we arrived among the Pottawattamies, which is half way to Michilimackinac, where we purchased some Indian corn for the rest of our voyage. We found no news there from Montreal and were forced to stay some time to await an opportunity to go down the river [a general expression of going through the lakes and down the Ottawa

\* See 'Relation des Decouvertes et des Voyages du Sieur de la Salle,' Margry, p. 435 *et seq.* Also Hennepin's 'Description de la Louisiana,' p. 78, 79. Both these accounts have been translated into English; but the question as to whether La Salle plagiarizes from Hennepin, or Hennepin from La Salle, it is unnecessary here to discuss.

† See p. 403, Vol. III, of this Magazine.

to Montreal], no man daring to venture, because of the war with the Iroquois. There are some Frenchmen in that place [the Pottawattamie village] and four Jesuits [missionaries], who have a house well built with timber, enclosed with stakes and palisades. There are also some Hurons and Ottawas, two neighboring nations, whom those Fathers take care to instruct, not without very much trouble, those people being downright libertines, and there are very often none but a few women in their [the Jesuits'] churches. Those Fathers have, each of them, the charge of instructing a nation, and to that effect have translated the proper prayers into the language peculiar to each of them, as also all other things relating to the Catholic faith and religion. They offered Father Anastasius and M. Cavalier [companions of Joutel] a room, which they accepted of; and we took up our lodging in a little hovel some travelers had made. There we continued the rest of May and part of June, till after the feast of Whitsuntide. The natives of the country about, till the land and sow Indian corn, plant melons and gourds, but they do not thrive so well as in the country we came from [to the south]. However, they live on them; and, besides, they have fish they catch in the lake, for flesh is very scarce among them."

"On the fourth of June," Joutel adds, "there arrived four canoes, commanded by M. de Porneuf, coming from Montreal and bringing news from the government authorities with orders to send to the settlements which were toward the

Lake des Puans [Green bay] and others higher up, toward the source of the River Colbert [Mississippi], to know the posture and condition of affairs. We prepared to be gone with the two canoes. M. Cavalier bought another to carry our baggage, and left part of his furs with a merchant, who gave him a note to receive money for them in Montreal. I did the same with the few furs I had, the rest of them having been left at Michilimackinac."

"We took leave of the Jesuits," are the further words of Joutel, "and set out in four canoes—two belonging to M. de Porneuf and two to M. Cavalier, one of which had been brought from Fort St. Louis [on the Illinois] and the other bought, as I have just now said; there being twenty-nine of us in those four canoes. We rowed on till the twenty-fourth of June, when M. de Porneuf left us to go to the Sault Ste. Marie, to carry orders there which had been given him. The next day we got out of the Lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan] to enter that of the Hurons [Lake Huron], on the banks whereof stands the village of Tessalon, where M. de Porneuf came again to us with a canoe of the natives, and with him we held on our way."\*

To describe the residue of the journey is unnecessary. We can say, in brief, that Joutel reached Montreal in safety, on the seventeenth of July, 1688. The act

\* French's 'Historical Collections of Louisiana,' Part I, pp. 191, 192. That volume contains the whole of Joutel's Historical Journal of La Salle's last voyage to discover the Mississippi, translated into English, from which I have drawn what is above related.



of Saint-Lusson at the Sault Ste. Marie, in 1671, in taking possession of the country beyond Lake Michigan, not being regarded as sufficiently definite, Nicholas Perrot, in 1689, at Green bay, again took possession of that territory, extending its limits, so that now there could be no question but that New France extended over all the upper lake region—over the country of the upper Mississippi—and “to other places more remote.” For the next nine years very little has been preserved of the western shores of Lake Michigan, either of its inhabitants, of the labors of missionaries or of the experiences of travelers in these parts. However, the very next year—1699—brought with it some light, especially regarding the site whereon is now situated the city of Milwaukee.

John Francis Buisson de St. Cosme, a native of Quebec, and a clergyman, on his way to instruct the heathen upon the lower Mississippi, took the then frequented route of Michilimackinac, intending to journey up the Fox river of Green bay and float down the Wisconsin to the “great water.” Why, after reaching the mouth of that bay, he was induced, to proceed up Lake Michigan to the Chicago river, going thence by way of the Illinois to the Mississippi, the sequel shows.

“On the eighteenth of the month,” [September, 1699], says St. Cosme, “we arrived off the Bay of Puants [Green bay], forty leagues distant from Michilimackinac. We encamped in an island of the detour, so called, because there the lake [Michigan] begins to turn

southerly. We were detained on this island six days, during which our people employed their time in setting nets. They took a great quantity of white fish, which is a very fine fish, and a manna, which is scarcely ever wanting along this lake, where meat is almost always out of reach. On the twentieth, we crossed the Bay of the Puants, which is about ten leagues broad. You cross from island to island. The bay is about twenty or thirty leagues long. On the right as you enter, you find another small bay called the Bay of the Noquets. The Bay of the Puants is inhabited by several Indian nations—the Noquets, Folles Avoines [Menomonees], Foxes, the Pottawattamies and the Sacs. The Jesuit Fathers have a mission at the head of the bay [at what is now Depere, Brown county, Wisconsin]. We much wished to pass by the head of this bay, and it would have been much our shortest route. You ascend a little river [the Fox], where there are only three leagues of rapids, the stream being about sixty leagues in length. You then make a portage [the site of the present Portage, Columbia county, Wisconsin], which is not long, and fall into the River Wisconsin.”

“The River Wisconsin,” continues St. Cosme, “is very fine; and you are only two days in descending it to reach the Mississippi. It is indeed two hundred leagues from the point where this river empties into the Mississippi, to that where the river of the Illinois discharges itself into the same stream; but the current is so strong that this distance is soon made; however, the Foxes, who

are on this little stream [the Fox] that you ascend on leaving the bay to reach the Wisconsin, will not suffer any person to pass for fear they will go to places at war with them; and hence they have already plundered several Frenchmen who wished to go by that road. This has compelled us to go by the Chicago route."

"On the twenty-ninth of September," adds St. Cosme, "we arrived at the village of the Pottawattamies, about twenty leagues distance from the traverse of the bay. There was formerly a very fine village there, but since the chief's death a part of the Indians have gone and settled in the bay, and the rest were ready to go there, too, when we passed. We halted for a while in this village, and on the next day set out, reaching a small Pottawattamie village on the fourth of October, on a little river where Rev. Father Marest had wintered with some Frenchmen and planted a cross. We spent the rest of the day there. On the fifth we set out, and, after being detained two days by high winds, we arrived, on the seventh, at Melwarik [Milwaukee]. This is a river where there is a village, which has

been considerable, and inhabited by the Mascoutins and Foxes, and even some Pottawattamies."\*

Having thus reached a point in the early history of Milwaukee which records an actual visit to the river on which the "Cream City" now reposes in her grandeur, and which gives, though in few words, some knowledge of the inhabitants when thus visited, we may pause to consider who were the people (besides the Pottawattamie band) that were found living in the village, which, we are thus told, had once been "considerable"—and which was still a point, evidently, of some importance. This inquiry we will reserve for another paper, adding to it whatever has been preserved relating to the occupation of the site, down to the time when white men began to make it their dwelling-place.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

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\* For the relation of St. Cosme of his voyage from Michilimackinac to the Mississippi (from which the above is taken), see Shea's 'Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi,' pp. 48-50. Most of the proper names in the quotations given I have modernized; an exception is that of "Melwarik"—now Milwaukee. I have changed a few words of the translation, but not the sense.

[To be continued.]

## LUCIUS FAIRCHILD.

THE subject of this sketch, Lucius Fairchild, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, at this date, is the son of the late Jairus Cassius Fairchild and Sally Blair Fairchild. The father was a native of the state of New York, and was born on the twenty-seventh of December, 1801; the mother was from New England—"of Scotch-Irish descent, gifted with Scotch persistency and Irish kindliness"—a woman of particularly strong character, noted for her hospitality—a devoted wife and mother, who sent three sons to the defense of her country. They were married in Ohio, and a few months later moved to what is now Kent, Portage county, in that state, where, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1831, Lucius was born.

The family moved to Cleveland in 1834; subsequently to Wisconsin, reaching Madison, then the capital of the territory (as it is now of the state) on the eighth of June, 1846, when Lucius was a few months over fourteen years of age. His education was obtained in the common schools of Cleveland, Ohio, and in the Academy of Twinsburg, in that state, and also at Carroll college, in Waukesha, Wisconsin. Less than three years after his arrival in Madison, so much had the then newly-discovered gold region of California attracted attention, that he resolved to venture a

trip across the plains could his parents' consent be obtained; it was given, and the lad of seventeen, with other adventurers from the vicinity of his home, started, in March, 1849, for the land of promise. His father furnished him a good saddle-horse and such luxuries as could be stowed in a small space.

The young man remained six years in California. Most of his time was spent in the mountains. There he lived, of course, the hard, rough life of a miner. His severe labor during that period yielded him a reasonable success financially, and he returned to his home in Madison. "I think, he said afterward, "that I owe very much to this part of my life. I was forced to depend on my own energy, and, to attain anything, there was no alternative but incessant and exacting labor. Since that period I have always been fond of work, and glad to have plenty of it. When in California, if I could not mine, I hired out to others and labored by the day. I was very ill for a long time, and was forced to fall back on myself. For these reasons I grew to depend on myself, and I have reason to believe that this experience was of the greatest benefit to me in my after life. We had many ups and downs—now wealthy, again without a dollar. We had a land claim in Scott valley and raised the first crop of wheat there, in 1854. I

secured seven hundred bushels, which I sold for seven dollars a bushel, because we were one hundred and sixty miles from the nearest wagon road."

The young man's first political experience occurred during these days. He had been selected as a delegate to the convention which nominated Bigler for governor. He was located up near the Oregon line, but courageously concluded to make the journey. He loaded a mule with his spare clothes, such as he would need in so distinguished a body. On the way, the mule fell off a height into a rapid stream below and disappeared. This was the last of the animal and his precious outfit. The young delegate traveled to Shasta City on foot, and the residue of the distance by stage. He sat in the convention without a coat and without a cent in his pocket.

In 1858 he was elected, on the Democratic ticket, clerk of the circuit court of his county (Dane). "The duties of that office he discharged with great acceptance—his promptitude, energy and business habits being no less conspicuous than his courtesy toward attorneys and all others doing business in the court. In the autumn of 1860, he was admitted to the bar."

In the spring of 1861, after the surrender of Fort Sumter, the subject of this sketch was one of the first who hastened to the defense of an imperiled country. As a member of the "Governor's Guard," an independent company of Madison, which was among the first to tender its services under the President's first call for three months'

troops, he enlisted as a private, but was elected captain of the company, which was assigned as Company K to the First (three months) regiment of Wisconsin volunteers; he declined the position of lieutenant-colonel offered him by Alexander W. Randall, then governor of the state—not feeling himself qualified for that office.

The regiment served its three months from June 9, 1861, in Eastern Virginia, where, on the second of July, it skirmished at Falling Waters with a part of Joe Johnston's force—a skirmish remembered only as one of the earliest of the war and the first in which Wisconsin troops were engaged. In August of the same year, President Lincoln appointed Captain Fairchild to the same rank in the Sixteenth regiment of regulars, and about the same time he received from Governor Randall a commission as major in the Second Wisconsin infantry, which had been in the battle of Bull Run and was then in Washington. He accepted both appointments and was the first officer of the regular army to receive leave of absence to serve with a volunteer regiment.

Major Fairchild, shortly after his being assigned to the Second Wisconsin, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment, he having declined the colonelcy of another, which had been tendered him by the governor of Wisconsin.

Colonel O'Connor, of the Second Wisconsin infantry, being in poor health, Lieutenant-colonel Fairchild commanded the regiment much of the time. It rapidly improved in disci-



pline and efficiency, and acquired the reputation of being one of the best regiments in the service. With the Sixth and Seventh Wisconsin and Nineteenth Indiana, it formed a brigade, first commanded by General Rufus King of Wisconsin, and which afterwards, under General Gibbon, won an enviable reputation. As a part of the First division of the First army corps, it took part in nearly all the great battles and campaigns of the eastern army, except those on the peninsula under McClellan.

In 1862 these regiments participated in the movement on Manassas, and subsequently formed a part of the army of the Rappahannock under General McDowell. After spending some months, first in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg, and then in the abortive attempt to intercept the retreat of Stonewall Jackson from the Shenandoah valley, they were sent, late in July, to feel the enemy gathering in front of General Pope and after a successful skirmish and a march of eighty miles in three days, returned to their camp at Falmouth. Engaged during the early part of August, in supporting a successful movement for cutting the Virginia Central railroad, in the course of which duty they repulsed and drove Stewart's cavalry, they had hardly obtained a couple of days' repose, before they were called to take part in the movement of the Army of Virginia under Pope, which had just fought the battle of Cedar Mountain. Retiring with that army, they had successive skirmishes with the enemy at Beverly Ford on the nineteenth of August, and at White Sulphur Springs

on the twenty-sixth. On the evening of the twenty-eighth, while moving from Gainesville along the Warrenton road toward Centerville, the brigade encountered Jackson's famous division, which was moving westward from Centerville to form a junction with Longstreet, and fought it single-handed for an hour and a half. It was this battle (which is known as that of Gainesville) which gave these regiments the name of "The Iron Brigade." While marching by the flank, the Second Wisconsin in advance, it was attacked by a battery posted on a wooded eminence to the left. Advancing promptly upon the battery, it encountered the rebel infantry emerging from the woods. The other regiments came rapidly up, while the enemy also were reinforced by at least one additional brigade, and in this unequal contest Gibbon's command maintained their ground until at nine o'clock darkness put an end to one of the fiercest conflicts of the war. Most of the time, General Gibbon says, the combatants were not more than seventy-five yards apart. Here Colonel O'Connor fell mortally wounded, and Lieutenant-colonel Fairchild had a horse shot under him. His regiment, which went into the fight with only four hundred and forty-nine men, lost more than half of them killed and wounded.

During the next two days occurred the second battle of Bull Run, where lack of harmony and of combined effort on part of our military leaders resulted in a retreat of our forces at the end of the second day, while troops enough to have secured a complete vic-

tory lay idle within easy reach of the battle-field. The Iron brigade, being in McDowell's corps, did not reach the scene of battle until near the close of the first day. The next day, the Second Wisconsin, being reduced by battle and sickness to one hundred and fifty men, was temporarily consolidated with the Seventh Wisconsin, and took part in the fight on the right wing, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Fairchild, all the other field officers of both regiments being either killed or wounded. The failure of our left to hold its ground compelling the whole force to withdraw, Gibbon's brigade covered the rear, not leaving the field until after nine o'clock at night, gathering up the stragglers as they marched, and showing so steady a line that the enemy made no attempt to molest them. Lieutenant-colonel Fairchild's regiment was the extreme rear, and he was the last man to leave the field. Soon after, he was made colonel of the regiment, to date from the thirtieth of August.

In the battle of South Mountain, on the fourteenth of September following, where the Iron brigade so gallantly carried the strong centre of the enemy at Turner's Gap, Colonel Fairchild was in command of his own regiment. Detained in hospital by sickness during some of the subsequent days, he was unable to return to the field until the latter part of the great day of Antietam, on the seventeenth, where his regiment lost ninety-one of the one hundred and fifty men engaged. It was after these two battles that General McClellan de-

clared this brigade "equal to the best troops in any army in the world."

After taking an active part in the unfortunate battle at Fredericksburg, under Burnside, and in the subsequent "Mud Campaign," Colonel Fairchild, with men of his own and other regiments, made two successful expeditions down the Potomac in February and March, 1863, gathering up horses, mules, "contrabands," provisions and prisoners. When the Army of the Potomac, under Hooker, advanced to the unfortunate field of Chancellorsville, the Iron brigade, to which the Twenty-fourth Michigan had been added, and which even then numbered only fifteen hundred, crossed the Rappahannock, at Fitz Hugh's Crossing, in pontoon boats, under a galling fire, and then charging up the heights, carried the rebel rifle-pits by storm, capturing about two hundred prisoners, thus rendering it possible to lay pontoon bridges. Arriving on the battle-ground near Chancellorsville, on the morning of the third of May, Colonel Fairchild was called, by General Wadsworth—his division commander—to serve on his staff, with which request he complied.

At Gettysburg, as the Iron brigade, early on the first day of the battle, engaged in the desperate conflict on Seminary Ridge, the Second Wisconsin, in the advance, lost, in less than half an hour, one hundred and sixteen men of the three hundred engaged; and there Colonel Fairchild fell with his left arm shattered, so that amputation just above the elbow became necessary. From the sem-

inary at Gettysburg, extemporized into a hospital, he was transferred to the home of a village resident (the Rev. Dr. Schaffer), where he received the tenderest care and nursing. By means of this, with skillful surgical attention and the strength of his constitution, he recovered sufficiently to return home.

While recruiting his health at Madison, having the desire and intention of rejoining the army—he having been recommended by all the generals under whom he had served for appointment as brigadier-general—the Union convention of Wisconsin, much to his surprise, nominated him, with great unanimity and enthusiasm, for the office of secretary of state. The unqualified and earnest support he had rendered, both by word and deed, to the government, the self-devotion and passionate patriotism, rising above all personal and party views, which had marked his course from the commencement of hostilities, rendered him an object of eminent confidence and affection on the part of those who tendered him the nomination. It was urged upon him by influential friends, that, although perils seemed to encompass the government at the north as well as the south, yet, in his disabled condition, he could serve the national cause more effectively by accepting the nomination than in any other way. He yielded to the urgent desires of the people, though it is believed that he subsequently, notwithstanding his success in obtaining the office, regretted that he did not follow his own im-

pulses and wishes and remain in the army.\*

"Thus closed," says a recent writer, "a military career than which there were few more brilliant and valuable. He passed from private to brigadier-general in a little over three years, and every step of the progress was earned. He was an indefatigable worker. He gave all his time and his best judgment to the service, and aimed to improve every detail which came within his province. He was but thirty-two years\* of age when disabled by his wound. Such a rise at such an age, and in so short a period of time, demonstrates conclusively his value as a soldier and his possession of rare qualities of organization and leadership."

General Fairchild was elected secretary of state; but previous to the election he resigned not only his rank in the regular army but also that of brigadier-general of volunteers, to which he had been appointed. While holding this office he was *ex-officio* a regent of the University of Wisconsin. He always took a prominent part in the meetings of the board, and in various ways promoted the interests of that excellent institution of learning. He also took a deep interest in seeing that the dependent families of soldiers were paid the five dollars per month extra allowed them by law.

After serving as secretary for the full term for which he had been elected (two years), he was, in 1865, nominated without opposition for governor of

\* The Western Monthly, February, 1869.

Wisconsin by the Republican Union convention, and elected by a majority a little less than ten thousand. His inauguration took place on the first day of January, 1866—the beginning of the tenth administration since the admission of the state into the Union. "In entering upon the discharge of the duties of the high office to which I have been so recently elected by the people," said the governor, in his inaugural address, "I fully appreciate its responsibilities, and in the discharge of its duties I shall earnestly endeavor to execute faithfully the trust committed to my care—to honestly enforce the laws of the state, and to carefully exercise the closest economy consistent with the public good in the expenditure of public money." He then outlined in bold and emphatic language, the conditions on which alone the (then) recently rebellious states should, in his judgment, be allowed to resume their functions in the Union. The "reconstruction policy," which congress afterward enforced, was, in the main, brought forward by him at this time and urged in a clear, vigorous and compact manner. In his concluding sentence, he depicted what might be the glorious future for the nation :

The curse of slavery removed, labor made respectable and idleness a disgrace among all classes ; the rudiments, at least, of an education assured to all the children of the Republic ; the right of free discussion established and guaranteed in every state and section ; a new era of material progress and intellectual development will dawn upon the country, compared with which the prosperity and greatness of the past, unprecedented as they have been, will sink into insignificance."

"Our first duty," said he, in his first message, "is to give thanks to Almighty

God for all His mercies during the year that is past." "The people," he continued, "of no nation on earth have greater cause to be thankful than have our people. The enemies of the country have been overthrown in battle. The war has settled finally great questions at issue between ourselves."

In the literature of the war few passages are to be found more truly eloquent than the one in which the governor speaks of the part taken by Wisconsin in that conflict: "In the struggle just closed," said he, "Wisconsin's record stands among the brightest. When the first faint echoes of the distant guns at Sumter sounded in our ears, her sons flew to arms. A young and peaceful state, unused to war, almost without a military organization, almost without the men fitted to lead her few battalions, she pressed to the front with her offering of men ; and, from the first skirmish in Virginia to the last struggle in North Carolina, her banners were displayed amid the smoke of every battle ; her regiments have shared the fatigues and dangers of every important expedition. When the thunder of artillery 'rocked, like a cradle, land and sea ;' when the shrieks of the wounded and the moans of the dying came borne to our ears from scores of battle fields ; when our streets were filled with pale and wounded men ; when there were defeats as well as victories ; when traitors grew confident and patriots anxious ; still her men, young and old, pressed forward to the conflict. They shrank not from danger—they never doubted of success."



"When there was mourning," continued the governor, "in so many of our homes; when its sad emblems were everywhere upon our streets and in our churches; when harrassing anxiety for the danger of those they loved filled so many hearts, and made pale so many faces, still mothers sent forth other sons, and other loving hearts bled fresh without a murmur. The plow stood almost idle in the furrow for want of hands to guide it; the grain grew over-ripe and rotted on the stalk for want of hands to gather it; women toiled where men were wont to work; and yet our country's calls were answered."

"In the hour of the country's greatest danger," concluded the governor, "Wisconsin's sons and daughters listened only to her voice. I thank God that this was so. To protect the state from danger is always the highest duty of the citizen. With us it was a solemn duty. Not our own national life alone, but the cause of freedom and the success of free institutions throughout the world depended upon our arms. Had we failed, these would have failed with us. Had we failed, the lamp of liberty would have gone out forever and left the world in darkness. That we did not fail is indeed a cause for great rejoicing; that the cause of freedom triumphed, brings joy to all the world. Yet, for us to-day, it is a chastened triumph. Tears will mingle with our joy, sadness with our pride. Thousands—the flower of our youth, the beauty of our Israel—have fallen in the conflict—dying that we might live. Proud of their noble sacrifice, a nation mourns

their loss. . . . Those fallen heroes will need no monument other than their nation's greatness. For all who nobly bore their part in this dread conflict, a nation's heart beats warm with gratitude. Generation after generation yet to come will kneel and bless them for it. They have saved the nation's life. If anything can be added to their proud consciousness of duty nobly done, let them dwell with satisfaction on the glorious future they have made possible for our country, when a hundred millions of free and happy people shall owe a proud allegiance to that flag they have so gallantly defended!"

The governor performed the duties of his first term (as, indeed, his two subsequent terms) as chief executive of Wisconsin to the satisfaction of the people. The intelligent earnestness and zeal with which he sought to promote the educational interests of the state was especially commended. He devoted an unusual proportion of his time to the personal visitations of the penal, reformatory, benevolent, as well as educational, institutions of the commonwealth. He urged the establishment of an additional state school—one for the education of the feeble-minded.

In 1867 Governor Fairchild was renominated without opposition by the Republican State convention of that year, and reëlected by nearly five thousand majority over his Democratic competitor. His second term—the beginning of the eleventh of the state administrations—commenced at noon on the sixth day of January, 1868. Again,

in 1869, was the governor nominated and again elected; his majority was over eight thousand votes. On the third of January, 1870, he was for the third time inaugurated; the only instance to that date of the same person being three times elected to the chief executive office of Wisconsin. It was an emphatic recognition of the value of his services in the gubernatorial chair.

In his last message to the legislature, delivered to that body on the eleventh of January, 1871, the governor declared that Wisconsin state policy was so wisely adapted to the needs of the people, and so favorable to its growth and prosperity, as to require but few changes at the hands of the legislators, and those rather of detail than of system—a happy condition of public affairs truly, and one of which, after serving the people for three terms as their highest officer of state, he might well be proud. And just here it may be said that, whether as *ex-officio* normal school regent or as governor, throughout his entire occupation of the executive chair, he did not relax his interest in the cause of popular education; on the contrary, he always encouraged it to the best of his ability.

The subject of this sketch, in a particular manner, gave encouragement, while governor, by word and deed, to the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, then in existence in Madison; he also encouraged railroad enterprises, and he may be said to be the father of the State Board of Charities and Reform, one of the best of the institutions of the state at the present date. What he suggested

in his messages had always direct reference to a need and the proper method of supply. He offered frequent financial suggestions, as, for instance, in 1866, that the state bonds then invested in trust funds, be canceled and their place be taken by unnegotiable certificates, and that the constitution be so amended as to enable the state to create a permanent debt to the trust funds. In 1868 he recommended authorizing the state land commissioners having trust funds to invest in United States bonds. In the same message he suggests the codification or revision of the statutes; less legislation of a private, local nature; a further enlargement of the Hospital for the Insane; ample appropriations for the support of the benevolent institutions of the state, and that the legislature use its influence to secure the early completion of the Northern Pacific railroad. These recommendations are but a few of the many which he presented to the legislature of his state, but they serve to indicate the practical nature of his efforts. He seems to have always looked above mere party; to have comprehensively examined the wants of the whole people of his commonwealth, and to have shaped his action in accordance with their needs. "His record in the gubernatorial office may not have been as brilliant in highly-colored effects as his service as a soldier, but it is none the less praiseworthy, none the less complimentary to his industry, fidelity and to his originality."\* As a private citizen he was called, in 1868,

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\* *Chicago Tribune*, May 3, 1884.

to preside over the deliberations of the National Soldiers' and Sailors' convention, held in Chicago, which duty he performed much to the satisfaction of the delegates there assembled. He also, during his gubernatorial career and subsequently, frequently attended waterways conventions, the objects of which were the improvement of the waterways of our country.

The last term of Governor Fairchild's office expired with the year 1871. In less than one year after his return to private life, he was called, by the United States government, to the consulate at Liverpool—one of the most important of the consular offices in her Majesty's dominions. This was in December, 1872. While discharging the duties of his office, he gave particular encouragement to the beef trade between the United States and Great Britain, which grew from nothing (as we may say) to immense proportions. American shipping was watched by Consul Fairchild with an anxious solicitude, to the end that its best interests might be protected; and he was at all times prompt to extend a helping hand to our suffering tars and to American citizens generally who were needing aid. "In his position he was engaged in a line of duties," says a recent notice of his work there, "which afforded no opportunities for examination and admiration on the part of the world, but which, in reality, are not the least arduous and valuable of his career. He was one of the hardest working consuls in the service of the government; and he filled his place with a fidelity, intelligence and conscientiousness that have never been excelled.

His mastery of the principles of international law and commerce was especially noted by the English press and made the subject of unqualified commendation. He succeeded in England in creating a respect for an American official far above the average entertained for our consular and other representatives."

General Fairchild remained in Liverpool until 1878, when he was, upon the government's own motion, promoted to the office of consul-general at Paris. He had transacted the business of his consulate to the entire satisfaction of the department at Washington, as his promotion clearly demonstrated. When about to leave for France, he received many tokens of the regard in which he was held, by banquets, addresses and resolutions of public bodies and of citizens, tendered him. He was no less fortunate in the discharge of his duties in Paris than in Liverpool. He visited all the consulates under his charge and was again promoted—this time as minister to Madrid, succeeding James Russell Lowell, receiving every demonstration of "good-by" from the gay Parisians upon his leaving for Spain. This second promotion, like the first, was entirely unsolicited, and was certainly a high compliment paid by the government which he so faithfully represented.

While in Spain, Minister Fairchild was given full powers by the United States in a congress of the representatives of thirteen governments, which met to settle affairs in Morocco on an inter-

national basis. He visited that country subsequently, at the instance of our government, to inquire into the condition of non-Mohammedans, especially the Jews. In March, 1881, he resigned his office as minister to Spain, declining to remain abroad longer, in any position; the education, in part, and the interest of his children in the United States, was, in his view, of such paramount importance as to make irrevocable his determination of returning home; however, by special request of the government, he remained at his post until the following December, when he was relieved by Hannibal Hamlin. In Spain, he visited many of the commercial centers and consulates, as the United States has no consul-general in that country.

General Fairchild reached his Wisconsin home on the second day of March, 1882, on which occasion he received a public ovation. He was enthusiastically greeted, as he stepped from the cars, by the governor and lieutenant-governor of the state and a large number of citizens. Speeches of welcome were made at the capitol and feelingly responded to by the general. A telegram from Milwaukee, expressing the sentiment of the old soldiers of that city toward him, voiced the feelings of the sturdy veterans of Madison. "Though in foreign countries for ten years," said the dispatch, "your growth in the hearts and affections of Wisconsin's people—especially the hearts and affections of her soldiers—has been steady and vigorous. Every soldier's heart to-day beats

a happy, hearty song of welcome to the loved one-armed patriot."

General Fairchild was, in 1886, elected commander of the department of Wisconsin, Grand Army Republic, giving his whole time to his duties as such officer, visiting various portions of the state, and conducting the necessary correspondence. At the National Encampment held in August of the same year at San Francisco, he was elected commander-in-chief of that body. Five candidates were before the session, all of whom were men of eminence and national reputation, and any one of whom would have filled the important and honorable position with credit. The general's prompt action in aid of the earthquake sufferers at Charleston, and his visit of late through the southern states have been the occasion of much favorable comment by the press of the whole country. He was everywhere cordially received by those who were formerly Confederate soldiers; and all the people who had anything of a knowledge of the beneficent character of the Grand Army of the Republic, gave him the right hand of fellowship. It may be said, indeed, that, throughout the entire south, he was greeted with uniform courtesy by all classes.

The general was married in 1864 and has three children. He occupies the house erected by his father some forty years ago. "With a face indicating decision and frankness, so plainly that no man can mistake; with a frame of medium size, but firmly knit, active and powerful; with a mind not so much



addicted to letters or learning as to the strenuous activities of public or private business, yet actuated by a genuine respect for literature, art and science, and those whose tastes tend to their cultivation ; not given to subtle speculations, but simple, clear, just and decided in his general views of men and things ; direct and positive of speech, and, at times, especially when busy, curt, and with a soldierly bluntness

which men do not dislike ; destitute of all cant and affectation, and of all the arts of a demagogue ; . . . a radical believer in giving all men the best chance that society can give ; thoroughly patriotic, with marked executive ability ; intelligent, prompt, energetic and incorruptible in the discharge of public duty"—such a man is Lucius Fairchild.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

## A MYTHICAL OHIO METROPOLIS.

OVERLOOKING the city of Akron, Ohio, from the north, is a broad plateau, known in local parlance as "The Chuckery." Tradition attributes this more striking than euphonious name to the large number of woodchucks that formerly constituted the major part of the population of that locality. It is not, however, with these modern mound builders that the present sketch has to do. Upon this slightly eminence once stood, in imagination, a mighty inland city. Forty-nine years ago there were not wanting bold and enterprising men who saw in the surroundings the making of a great manufacturing center—a veritable western Lowell—and who evidenced their faith by their works in a manner that even now challenges our wondering admiration. "Summit City," as it was to be called, never existed except on paper, but there are still pointed out the evidences of man's marvelous triumphs over nature in his effort to secure the prime requisite for a large city in those days, abundant and never-failing water power. The visitor to those wild and romantic chasms and caverns which lie below the town of Cuyahoga Falls, six miles north of Akron, can walk for a mile along the solid stone retaining wall which once carried the waters of the Cuyahoga river out of its natural course; and if he traces the artificial channel still further he will find that it at length

emerges upon the side of a great sand hill, and is finally lost in the ravines which seam the sides of "The Chuckery."

The story of this marvelous enterprise, though often referred to in local history, has never yet been told in print by any of the men directly concerned in it; and it is with no small degree of pleasure that the writer is able to lay before the readers of this magazine the narrative of the sole survivor, an old man of eighty-five years, as taken down from his own lips within the past thirty days. Before allowing him to tell his story, however, let us glance briefly at the main facts in connection with the project.

Great rivalry at that time existed, not only between "North" and "South" Akron, but also between "North" Akron and Cuyahoga Falls. The construction of a mill-race, conveying the waters of the Little Cuyahoga river through the town of Akron, had brought such beneficial results in the way of establishing an extensive milling industry, that the main spirit in that enterprise, Dr. Eliakin Crosby, conceived the bold idea of similarly diverting the waters of the "Big" Cuyahoga, at a point near Cuyahoga Falls, and bringing them to the brow of "Chuckery Hill," whence a splendid fall of one hundred and sixty feet could be obtained. Upon the site thus reached they platted a large town

which they named in their maps "Summit City." Associated with Dr. Crosby were E. C. Sackett, Colonel James W. Phillips, and Dr. E. W. Crittenden. To further their project they formed a joint stock company with a nominal capital of five hundred thousand dollars. New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, and other eastern parties eventually became interested. The necessary land was bought up; the dam and canal were constructed, and the water was actually turned in amid great rejoicing. But internal dissensions arose in the company, the courts intervened, long delays followed, and ultimately the enterprise was abandoned. But let us not forestall our narrative.

Horace Greeley, visiting Akron in September, 1843, as a delegate to the Universalist general convention, saw the great enterprise at its best, and with graphic pen depicted its difficulties and prophesied its triumphant success. As a picture and a prophecy his letter, published in the *New York Tribune* of September 23, 1843, is of much historic interest and is herewith reproduced:

The chief deficiency of this fertile section is in the extent and diversity of its manufacturing activity, which ought to be adequate at least to the average supply of its own wants, so as to afford a home market for a considerable portion of the agricultural produce which is now compelled to seek a market three thousand or four thousand miles distant, depressing its price inevitably twenty-five to seventy-five per cent. below the average value of its staples in New York. This should not continue, and will not if the present tariff is maintained.

Summit county has water power in plenty at Akron, abundant coal within three miles of that place, and but one and a half miles from the Ohio canal, with which a private railroad connects it; potter's clay, from which excellent stoneware is made, and its

soil of sandy loam is generally underlaid by strata of clay, from which the best of fire-proof brick are cheaply manufactured. These, with its iron ore, in the midst of such land and timber, with canals leading north to Lake Erie (only thirty-eight miles), south to Columbus and the Ohio, and east to Pittsburgh, are plainly destined to render Akron, at an early date the Lowell of northern Ohio and the lake region. Her water power (on the Little Cuyahoga and the two canals) is now extensive, impelling four large flouring mills, which turn out one thousand barrels a day, and will this year manufacture one hundred thousand barrels, running but six months. I visited one of the largest and found every branch of the business carried on in great perfection; the grain being taken directly from the canal boats, elevated, fanned, screened, ground, cooled, bolted, and all but barreled, by water power; the latter process occupying three men about one minute to the barrel. These mills run only when the Erie canal is open, are now active night and day, and could turn out two hundred thousand barrels in a full year. They made last year eighty thousand barrels. The wheat raised in this small and not half cleared county, in 1840, was 382,832 bushels, and is computed to exceed five hundred thousand bushels this year.

Akron has fine woolen factories, and one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of wool were purchased here this season at an average price of twenty-three cents per pound. Half of it was bought for eastern manufactories. This place, with a population of two thousand five hundred, has an extensive blast furnace in full operation, a machine shop, a card factory, a carding machine factory, &c., &c., a court house, four churches and two more being erected, nine dry good stores, and about as many other stores, two weekly newspapers, &c. The present water power, including that of the surplus water of sixteen locks on the two canals, is adequate to impelling sixty-two runs of stones. Besides this there is considerable water-power and manufacturing at the small village of Middlebury only a mile and a half east on the canal, and destined to form a portion of the same city. There are some thirty flouring mills in other parts of the county, and a large water-power, in good part improved, at Cuyahoga Falls, a village half as large as Akron, four miles northeast of it.

But the great ultimate source of activity, ascendancy and wealth in Akron, is the gigantic enterprise of the Portage Canal and Manufacturing company, of which Dr. Crosby, of Akron, is the originator and master spirit. This company is the owner, in good part, of

some four square miles of land lying north of the present compact part of Akron, embracing the banks of the Cuyahoga, from the village at the falls, and the Little Cuyahoga from the mills in Akron to the junction of the two streams, some two miles below. At the village of Cuyahoga Falls, the Cuyahoga river, which has been tending westerly from its source in Portage county, encounters a ridge of sandstone some forty feet thick, and several miles in breadth, resting on a stratum of slate. Through this rock the river forces its way in a southerly and then a westerly direction, some three miles, falling some two hundred feet in its progress, till it receives the Little Cuyahoga, when it bends away northward to Lake Erie. Almost at the foot of the chief fall of fifty feet, at the falls village, the Portage Canal and Manufacturing company have thrown an immovable dam of thirty feet high across the narrow gorge into which the stream has precipitated itself and thence will conduct the whole water of the river along the side of this wild, rocky and most forbidding chasm, raising the bank, of course, as the stream falls and rushes and brawls on its way to daylight, until each emerges, some two miles from the junction with the Little Cuyahoga, and the company's canal strikes off southward, preserving its elevation, toward Akron, and arriving within full view of that place on the opposite or northern bank of the Little Cuyahoga, is conducted down one hundred and sixty feet into the channel of that stream, forming a water power adequate to impelling one hundred and twenty run of stones, which will be increased by other power possessed by the company, to enough for one hundred and sixty run of stones. This gigantic work is to be completed by the first of December, and the company are already prepared to dispose of lots, mill sites and power on moderate terms. They expect that cotton mills and many varieties of manufactories will be commenced each, next season.

I passed along the whole length of this canal, which was commenced in 1837, interrupted by the distresses of that year, resumed in 1840, suspended again, and which over one hundred workmen are now pressing to a speedy completion. I observed and wondered, yet despair of giving the reader any idea of the difficulty and magnitude of the work. To make a canal between a beetling cliff and a foaming river, with often hardly a rod of precipitous rock and shale between them, seems a task for superhuman powers; yet by blasting, delving, digging, the work is done or its completion secured. In many places the river wall of the canal, which is uniformly carried

down and based upon the solid rock, has to be built up thirty to forty feet of blasted stone, then graveled with earth brought from some distance, or thrown off the cliff above. Again, the channel must be dug for half a mile through obstinate slate, when that strata is reached. For some distance it runs under the sandstone cliff, and there is a blacksmith's shop in operation, with forty feet of solid rock above it; nothing for the shop but the bare implements, and no danger from fire. All along, crystal springs are gushing and pouring from the rock, and as you pass downward you may see the sun through half the day and more, while the trees overhanging you are matched, as the chasm widens and deepens, by others whose tops are beneath your feet. The land has hardly a wider or more formidable gorge than this descent of the Cuyahoga from the Summit level to that, very nearly, of Lake Erie.

Even after emerging from the glens the canal encounters formidable obstructions in the deep, abrupt gullies cut through the loose loam by the little water courses in their impetuous descent from the plain above to the valley below. These have been most ingeniously surmounted, in part, by bringing a stream of water across the plain, two or three miles, from the cross-cut canal, and, having built a log breast-work below that part of the gully which must be elevated to the canal level, by turning the water on, the adjoining hills are quickly cut down by the impetuous torrent, and in this way a gully is filled in a day or two without the use of a spade, which a thousand dollars would hardly suffice to fill by hand.

I understand the whole cost of this canal will be about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, which is much less than I should have estimated it. The lands, water-power, etc., opened by the company, cost them some three hundred thousand dollars more. I most sincerely hope they will be rewarded for this daring enterprise, which must prove a great blessing to Akron and the whole neighboring country, if not to themselves; but I have heard that they now labor under embarrassments which must enable those who have money to secure great bargains here. G.

Of all the prime movers in the enterprise only one, we believe, survives. This is Mr. E. C. Sackett, at present living in Wyandotte, Kansas. Eighty-five years of age, racked with rheumatism, his hearing somewhat impaired, and his memory not clear as to exact



dates and figures, he still retains a vivid recollection of the general facts and tells the story in graphic language. Here it is:

The "Chuckery?" Well, it has quite a history. I had something to do with it—that is, with the canal from Cuyahoga Falls to Akron. But Dr. Crosby was the originator of the scheme. It was one of the grandest schemes, too, ever planned in this country. You see the Little Cuyahoga had been utilized as a water power, and very successfully, with its thirteen hundred feet of water per minute, but here was the Big Cuyahoga with three thousand feet of water, and a fall from above Cuyahoga Falls to Akron of one hundred and sixty-six feet. The doctor argued that if the little river could do so much for Akron and the owners of the water power, the larger river could do much more. He studied, and studied, about it. Now I had been helping to build the Pennsylvania State canal and had come home. Dr. Crosby, accompanied by an old schoolmate of mine, came to see me. We took a walk down into the orchard, and when we were all alone he said:

"Mr. Sackett, can you keep a secret?"

He was a stranger to me, except that I knew him to be a leading business man in Akron. His question filled me up. I replied: "Well, doctor, I don't know whether I can or not."

He went away and did not return for two weeks; when he came he said: "Do you remember what I asked you when I was here before?" "Yes," said I, "I haven't thought of much else. I hope you don't want me to do anything wrong?"

He then told me he owned considerable land, and said he wanted to buy all the land along the Cuyahoga river, covering the entire water power, which, he explained, could be controlled by a canal from the Falls to Akron, and he wanted to know what kind of a town it would make. I replied: "It's a big job—it will cost two million dollars." His answer was, "I don't think so, and I want you to go and buy the land—all the land affected by the proposed race. Go and get prices, get propositions in writing. I will tell you whether I will take the land or not. If I buy I'll give you five per cent. commission." His son Clay and I drew up a contract.

"Now," said I, "doctor, start me out."

"Go to Cuyahoga Falls and buy two hundred acres of the Cooks. I want that land because it covers part of the river."

I took my horse and went to see neighbor Cook. We had about the following conversation:

"Do you want to sell your farm?"

"Well, yes, if I get my price."

"Now, doctor, I want to get your very lowest price." I had a piece adjoining his and would have been glad to get twenty-five dollars per acre for it. Imagine my surprise when he said, "One hundred dollars per acre."

I told him he was crazy; but I reported to Dr. Crosby that it was out of the question to deal with Cook.

"You haven't got your eyes open yet; get the land, we want it and will pay his price."

I bought the land, and I tell you I felt very nice when I had my one thousand dollars commission in my pocket. Thus, I went on and bought lands till the doctor said we had enough. It was a delicate matter to go and buy the land all the way from Akron to Cuyahoga Falls—to buy right into their teeth. I am free to say, now, that if they had known our plans they wouldn't have sold for a million dollars. It wasn't a nice undertaking. I had bought a mill site, then went up to a twenty-foot rise and bought that. It made us one hundred and sixty-six feet of fall and three thousand feet of water. I had told the parties selling that it was a good place for an iron mill. Then I went, one day, and told Dr. Crosby that it was too big a job to go and buy that mill property. He said: "You must buy it. I have hired you, and you must buy the land that gives us that remaining twenty feet. Take your own way for it and get it." So I said: "Well, I'll go to Pittsburgh; I have some friends there. And then the people will think it is an iron scheme."

I went to Pittsburgh to my old friend Josiah King and opened the case to him. He took it all in quickly. He said: "If I could leave I would go home with you. I can't leave, but I will furnish you a trusty man, who will do as well as I could, and you can start back to-morrow." I took my Pittsburgh friend to Cuyahoga Falls, and we climbed a long stairway, where I showed him how that water could be carried in a race for four miles along that steep and almost overhanging cliff. I got him full of the idea. Then I took him to see Judge Newberry, to whom I introduced him. As we, with others, took a walk along the river, Newberry said to me: "I like that man—he has got brains—got force." I saw that I had hit the nail on the head, and went to work. I asked him what he would take for that twenty feet. He said: "Well, I don't know. I

think twenty thousand dollars is about right." Of course I talked as if that were a big price, though I didn't expect to get it for less.

"How much time will you give me?" I asked.

He replied: "I am getting to be an old man and must provide for my family. I have given you fifty years on the six foot you bought. Now I want good payments, so that my family will have something to depend upon."

I bought the land with its water power, and we now had our one thousand acres. That water power we took to the falls, and then carried it around the bluff, and so on till the river turned to Cleveland, where we turned the race through the sand hills to Akron. We figured up our land and the cost of it, and, adding sixteen thousand dollars to pay the originators of the scheme, we formed a company known as the Portage Canal and Manufacturing company. My memory is so poor that I am unable to give a connected and systematic history of the work, but the general facts I know, although I may mistake as to names and dates.

The causes of disaster come up in the start. We got a man into the company called Peter Eicher, and this is how it occurred: Joseph S. Lake, president of the Worcester bank, was as good a man as ever put tooth into a buckwheat cake. Lake owned much land, and, not thinking it proper to join us, he gave Eicher an interest in a piece of land, afterwards exceedingly valuable; but Eicher, who had a nice wife, would never have been worth a sixpence had it not been for Lake. He afterwards went to Iowa, where I heard of some of his tricks. Lake was our best man, but his brother-in-law, Eicher, was the most trifling. We were very careful to secure our title to lands, for we knew very well that the people of the Falls would break the title or pick a flaw if it were possible. One day Judge Newberry called me into his office. I thought there was something to pay, but I went in as bold as a lion. Said Newberry: "Friend Sackett, there are strange stories afloat. They say you are buying up all this land and are going to carry all this power to Akron in place of building up Cuyahoga Falls. How is it?"

I said: "Judge, that's so. I am going to carry the water power to Akron, and then to the moon. And then I can carry it to any place I please." He laughed heartily and said: "I thought there was nothing in it."

When the company was formed and stock issued, the excitement spread far and wide. Bankers and

capitalists from the east, from Cincinnati, from Michigan and all directions—everybody who got an inkling of what it was—wanted stock. The amount issued was five hundred thousand dollars. In April, 1837, I commenced work on the dam. The company now wanted a man to build the race or canal. They knew of no one. Dr. Crosby wanted to give me the contract and I wanted it. I took the contract to build the race for ninety thousand dollars. Various prices for both dam and race had been talked—\$118,000 and \$100,000. I took the race and Dr. Crosby the dam. I had been at work some time when my friend, Wetmore, a member of the legislature, came to see us. "Friend Sackett," said he, "I am sorry to see you working at this job. If you had a million you couldn't do it. I advise you to go home—to abandon it." Good enough advice if I had taken it. While I did not contract to build the dam, I did help Dr. Crosby sometimes—have spent many an hour in the water up to my knees—and probably now am suffering from the work and exposure of those days.

I was to have my pay on the engineer's estimates as the work proceeded. I didn't get money enough, so I put in my own means, and when the work was done, so far as it was done, I sued the company and got judgment for nineteen thousand dollars or more. No other contractor, except as sub-contractor under me, had anything to do with building the race. I have received letters asking about the company buying me out and getting others to finish the work, but this was never done; they thought, as my friend Wetmore, that it would take a million to do the work.

When the race was made—and it was made—we set a day for a grand picnic celebration. People came long distances—from fifty to eighty miles—on horseback and in wagons. It was an immense gathering. The gates to let the water in were carefully locked, as we didn't wish to let in much water, some of the earthworks not being thoroughly settled. But the Cuyahoga Falls people, who were very angry at us—and I don't blame them for feeling so—let the water in at night and fairly flooded the sand hills. It tore out an immense hole on one side of the race—a great gulf.

But there was trouble ahead. Dr. Crosby, who had got the one hundred thousand dollars, had used thirty thousand dollars for which he did not and would not give an account. Had he made any sort of a showing, such as using it to secure the loan, it might have been passed over. But he gave the com-

pany no satisfaction whatever. This made nearly all the stockholders fighting mad. The people said, "Put him out." We put him out and organized a new company. We thought that even then the doctor would not try to damage us, as he held a large amount of stock—some fifty thousand dollars—but in this we were mistaken. Dr. Lake was as much displeased with Crosby as any of us, yet urged us not to put him out. His advice was not heeded. Had Dr. Lake been a member, instead of that worthless Peter Eicher, things would have been better too.

We got 'Squire S. C. Otis in to act as financial agent—who was later a Cleveland millionaire. I was appointed to take care of the land until we got over the trouble. But, as hinted at, the injunction came and stopped us. There was a whole pack of papers, each a separate suit. One was *Crosby, et al., vs. E. C. Sackett and Dr. Lake, Same vs. E. C. Sackett and Harris, Same vs. E. C. Sackett and Seth Day*, and so on. They used my name so as to get into court, I being a resident. They singled me out and piled the costs up heavy—all of which, years afterwards, I paid up myself. We knew Judge Wade and supposed we could soon get rid of the injunction suits. But that little popgun of a Crittenden held up his hand and swore that a friend of his was at the point of death and wanted the trial put off. Then the docket was too full to reach it.

After seven long years the case came to trial. Nobody appeared in behalf of Crosby, Eicher and Crittenden. The judge saw how it was and threw the cases all out as fast as he could look at the titles. This seven-year suit broke us up. We had no heart to proceed. Other suits might have been instituted to hamper us. We had borrowed one hundred thousand dollars, at ten per cent., for ten years. The heavy work was done, but the race and dam needed watching and repairs. For twenty or thirty years that dam stood sound as a nut. The statement that Dr. Crosby and I built the dam is not true, although I sometimes helped him and supplied him with material. Dr. Crosby's work on the Little Cuyahoga was ten years before I had anything to do with the Chuckery job. I had no joint contract and wanted no partnership with him.

What surprised me, when the property came to be sold under mortgage, was that nobody was ready to bid. I supposed the Cuyahoga Falls people would jump at the chance. I tell you it was a grand scheme—one of the grandest of the kind ever undertaken in the west or anywhere—and it ought to have been a success.

While I do not like the part I took in buying the Cuyahoga Falls water power, I did, at the same time, excuse myself with the reflection that we gave what was to them full value, and we paid them every dollar, as we had to have the property clear in order to get that one hundred thousand dollars in New York. If Mr. Lake could only have joined us in the start, we could have pulled through all right. I can't for the life of me see why that thing has been allowed to lie there dead all these long years.

Even had the projectors not fallen out among themselves, it is doubtful whether any considerable town would have been built up on the site selected. That was preëminently the age of water power. Steam, as a motive power, was little thought of. Canals were deemed the acme of inland transportation. How marvelous the changes since then! Water power is held only in secondary consideration. The once mighty canal contractor has forever laid aside his transit, pick and shovel. That curious epitome of mechanical lore, the mill-wright, has evolved into the modern mechanical engineer. "Summit City" might some day have fulfilled Horace Greeley's glowing predictions, but water power alone would not have made it. From the summit of "The Chuckery," however, may be seen, indeed, the realization of the dream of 1843. The black pall of smoke, which perpetually hangs over the thriving city of Akron, tells of great enterprises, armies of employes and abundant evidence of prosperity, only the scene is changed. From the busy age of steam thus typified, back to the sluggish age of water, so strikingly illustrated by the abandoned town-site on "The Chuckery," who would care to go?

WILSON M. DAY.

## HISTORY OF OHIO.

## V.

## EARLY INDIAN MIGRATION TO OHIO.

THE first quarter of the eighteenth century had scarcely passed when the wilderness west of the Alleghanies, in what is now western Pennsylvania, became the home of Delawares, Shawanese and Mingoes. The first to reach this region were some Delawares, who came about the year 1724\*—prompted by the conveniency of game thus to migrate to branches of the Ohio. They were of the nation which, when first known by the whites, dwelt in detached bands, under separate chiefs, on the Delaware river. The Dutch began to trade with this nation as early as 1616, and maintained a friendly intercourse with the various clans. In 1632, the Dutch settlement of Swanendael was utterly destroyed by them, but trade was soon resumed. The Swedes, on settling on the Delaware, were well received by these savages. Both Dutch and Swedes bought lands of them, and they had, as a consequence, to strike inland to kill

\* Conrad Weiser, in July, 1754, in a speech to the Six Nations at Albany, said: "The road to the Ohio is no new road; the Shawanese and Delawares removed thither above thirty years ago." This was true as to Delawares, but erroneous as to Shawanese; his meaning being, of course, that the latter had, so many years before, migrated thither from the east.

game for furs. The English, after the conquest of New Netherlands, kept up the trade; and Penn, with his followers, occupying the land in still greater numbers, bought large tracts. Gradually (but to trace their history as a whole would be beyond our design) they retreated westward before the advance of civilization, until, as will hereafter be shown, all had migrated beyond the Ohio. At present we have only to tell the story of those who, down to the close of the war, in 1748, between England and France, had moved over the mountains.

That the Delawares first settled on "the Kittanning" (that is, on "the Alleghany" at what is now Kittanning), is reasonably certain; and it is probable also they were very soon followed to their new homes by English traders; for so important had the trade become by the year 1729, that the governor of Pennsylvania felt called upon to prescribe rules for their traffic, directed "To the Several Traders of Pennsylvania with the Indians at Alleghany and the Other Remote Parts in or near to the said Province." They were to carefully "avoid the pernicious practice" of selling the Indians "rum and other strong



liquors." There was to be no attempt among the traders to "undermine" one another; all goods of the same kind were to be sold at a certain reasonable price by each. They were enjoined to set an example to the savages with whom they traded, of "sobriety, temperance, humanity and charity." And the wily governor, having an eye to French encroachments, made it incumbent on them to advise him if any Indians or messages came thither from distant nations or places; and, "by all means," they were to learn the designs of the first and the import of the last, and let him be advised of them. The names of two traders to the "Indians at Alleghany," in 1729, were Anthony Sadowsky, and John Mattox; the names of four in 1730, were James LeTort, Edmund Cartlidge, Jonah Davenport and Henry Baley. Because of the importation of rum by the Mingoës, who had purchased fourteen kegs of it at Albany, the Delaware Indians sold all the goods they had to get the rum; and not having sufficient to secure the whole, made a forced levy upon the traders to supply the deficiency. This was in June, 1729.

The trader, Jonah Davenport, then in Philadelphia, was examined by the governor of Pennsylvania on the twenty-ninth day of October, 1731, concerning the Indians upon the Alleghany. On that day he declared that he had lately come from Alleghany; that, in the spring of 1727, as he well remembered, a French gentleman in appearance, with five or six attendants, came down the river to a settlement of the Delaware Indians on Ohio [now "Alleghany"] river, which

they called Kittanning, with an intention, as he believed, to inquire into the number of English traders in those parts and sound the minds of the Indians.

The relation of Davenport, as to the "French gentleman," alarmed the Pennsylvania governor, and he sent to "Captain Hill and other Delaware Indians at Alleghany" a message. "I find," said he, "that when your father, William Penn, came into this country, he called all the Indians together and made a strong chain and league of friendship with them, which was that he and his people, and they and their people, and their children and children's children, and their children—and so forward to all ages and generations, should be one people as of the same flesh and blood and the same body as long as the waters should flow and the sun, moon and stars endure. And William Penn gave it always in charge to all his governors whom he sent into this country in his stead, to be kind to all the Indians as his brethren and children, and accordingly all the governors of this place have from time to time renewed the same treaty and brightened the chain with all the Indians, and we have lived and do live as true friends and brethren. If any white man hurt an Indian, he is punished for it, and you have heard that some of our people have been hanged on a gallows for being wicked to the Indians. I wrote the order for it, and they were put to death because they had abused our brethren.

"But now I must complain, for I am much grieved that so many of my brethren are removed to so great a distance

from us that I cannot see them. I cannot take my brethren by the hand nor drink a cup of friendship with them. You are gone a great way and fall into the hands of strangers, who perhaps may tell you many false stories and endeavor to make you believe what is not true. One link of the chain made between you and us is that you should believe no stories, but come and ask your brethren whether they be true. Our people have supplied you with all that you have wanted, and have given you good prices for your skins, but you are too far distant; we shall become strangers by not seeing and speaking to each other. I therefore desire you to come and see your old true friends and brethren who want to see you. And these, my words, I confirm with a token that will be given you, and with some liquor to make your hearts cheerful in remembering your friends."

In 1731 there were twenty families of Delawares, numbering sixty men, on the Conemaugh; on "the Kittanning (Alleghany river)," fifty families, numbering one hundred and fifty men; and at "Senangel's town," sixteen families, numbering fifty men; also, a few at "Lequeepes."\* There was also a settlement of Delawares upon the Juniata, about one hundred and fifty miles by water from the Susquehanna, of twelve families, numbering thirty-six men. This village was usually considered as being

\* Afterward known as Alequippa's—a Mingo village on the Alleghany, some miles above Pittsburgh. After the death of Alequippa, his widow moved up the Monongahela to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, where she was well known to the English traders as "Queen Alequippa."

occupied by Alleghany Indians, though not upon any tributary of the Alleghany river. At this date a French gentleman, who called himself Cavalier, had a store at the head of the Alleghany river, getting his supplies from Montreal. In the fall of that year, one French trader succeeded in establishing himself down the river, but was soon, at the instigation of the English, required by the Indians to leave the country. The Delawares west of the mountains seem not to have received much of an acquisition to their numbers for several years subsequent to this period. However, in 1742, the eastern Delawares, having incurred the displeasure of the Six Nations because of their transactions with the whites as to lands, were required to remove to Shamokin or Wyoming. They preferred the later place, but only remained there a short time, when they migrated to the west branch of the Susquehanna. They had quitted forever the banks of their native Delaware, the scene of many memories and the resting-place of the bones of their ancestors, and turned their faces toward the west. It was not many years before a considerable number had left the west branch and found homes with their brethren on the Alleghany. Here, in 1748, their warriors numbered one hundred and sixty-five.† They had a number of small villages, some upon the Alle-

† In most of the early English accounts concerning the Delawares who had moved west of the mountains, they are spoken of as being upon the Ohio; the meaning is, however, upon the Alleghany. This has caused many mistakes by late writers of local histories.

ghany, others upon the Ohio and its tributaries recently located ;† but none below the mouth of the Big Beaver—their principal town being up that stream, near the confluence of the Chenango and Mahoning. None had, as yet, established themselves upon what is now Ohio territory.‡

Some of the Shawanese Indians, or their descendants, who had left the Cumberland valley and moved eastward and southeastward, reached Pennsylvania about the close of the seventeenth century.¶ In 1732 the governor of Pennsylvania said of them :

The Shawanese, who were settled to the southward, being made uneasy by their neighbors, about sixty families of them came up to Conestoga, about thirty-five years since, and desired leave of the Susquehanna Indians, who were planted there, to settle on that river. The Susquehanna Indians applied to the government of Pennsylvania for leave for the

† Conrad Weiser, in speaking to the Indians at Logstown, on the sixteenth of September, 1748, said: "You have of late settled on the river of Ohio for the sake of hunting, and our traders followed you."—'History of Western Pennsylvania,' App., p. 21., 'Pennsylvania Colonial Record,' Vol. V., p. 356.

‡ At least there is no evidence extant as to their having gone farther westward; though within the next two years some very small villages were visited by traders and others on what is now the soil of Ohio.

¶ I have not attempted to trace this branch of the Shawanese in their various wanderings. For an account of their migrations, see Gallatin's Synopsis, in Vol. II. of the 'Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society,' pp. 65, 66; 'Bancroft's History of the United States (Ed. 1884), Vol. II., p. 92; 'Parkman's Pontiac,' Vol. I., p. 32; 'Drake's Life of Tecumseh,' p. 10; Brinton's 'The Shawnees and their Migrations,' in the Historical Magazine (1866), Vol. X., p. 2; Force's 'Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio,' *passim*; C. C. Royce's 'The Shawnee Indians,' in 'History of Clark County, Ohio,' p. 223.

Shawanese to make their home there—they being responsible for their good conduct. They were allowed to locate on that river as they desired, and were taken under the protection of the Pennsylvania government. From that time great numbers of the same Indians followed them and settled on the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. Now, as they had joined themselves to the Susquehanna Indians, who were dependent on the Five Nations, they thereby also fell under the protection of the latter. The government of Pennsylvania held several treaties with them, and they had been, from their first coming, treated as Indians of Pennsylvania. However, some of their young men, having, between four and five years since, committed some disorders (though we had fully made it up with them), and, being afraid of the Six Nations, removed to Ohio [Alleghany].

This fixes the year of the migration of some Shawanese west of the mountains as "about" 1728. They really came in the spring of 1727.\* English traders at once began trading with them after their arrival. They were not then really on the Alleghany, but on a tributary—the Conemaugh. Here, in the latter part of the year 1731, they numbered two hundred souls. Their principal chief was Okowelah. There were forty-five families of them. There was also a Shawanese village upon the Juniata, sixty miles from the Susquehanna, consisting of twenty families, having sixty men. This Indian settlement was usually considered as belonging to the Alleghany Indians, though, in reality, not upon the waters of that river. The chief, at this village, was Kishacoquillas, whose name is still perpetuated in a creek of Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, which flows into the Juniata near Lewiston.

\* See "Examination of Jonah Davenport" in 'Pennsylvania Archives' (O. S.), Vol. I., pp. 299, 300.

So soon as it came to the ears of the French in Canada that the Shawanese had settled (a few of them) west of the mountains, they sent emissaries among them to win them over to their interest. In the latter part of 1731, James LeTort, an English trader who spoke the French language, being himself a Frenchman by birth, was examined by the Pennsylvania governor, when he declared he had lately come from the Alleghany, where there were several settlements of Delawares, Shawanese, Assiwikalees and Mingo Indians, to the number of four or five hundred. "For these three years past," said LeTort, "a certain French gentleman, who goes by the name of Cavalier, has made it his practice to come every spring amongst the Indians settled there and deals with them but for a very small amount. He particularly fixes his abode among the Shawanese, with whom he holds frequent councils, and it is generally believed with a design to draw them off from the English interest. In the spring of the year 1730, after Cavalier had had some consultation with those Indians and was returned to Montreal, several of the Shawanese, with one or two of their chiefs, followed him thither, who, at their return, told me that they had seen their father (meaning the French governor of that place), who had treated them very civilly. This last spring, Mr. Cavalier again came to Alleghany, when he was attended by five Frenchmen, one of whom being a blacksmith, wrought for the Shawanese, by mending their guns, hoes and hatchets during his stay amongst them, which

was about two months, without any pay from the Indians, several of whom told me that this blacksmith was sent among them to work for them by order of their father, the French governor. The Indians were so highly pleased therewith that they gave the blacksmith, before his going away, a present in skins to the value of ten pounds. After Cavalier and his company were gone several of the Shawanese, with two of their chiefs, went again to Montreal, but had not returned when I left Alleghany. I heard before I came away from some of the Mingoes, that the French governor had sent lately a message to them with a belt of wampum desiring them to use the Shawanese well and to live with them in peace and friendship. The message was received very civilly and a courteous answer returned thereto. I believe, from all I saw and heard, that the French have gained a great influence over the Shawanese, and are daily endeavoring to improve it."

Governor Gordon being thus fully advised of the intrigues of the French, at once sent a message to his "friends and brethren," the Shawanese, at and near the Alleghany, desiring that they should send some of their old wise men to Philadelphia that he might speak with them. He hoped they had not, "through a lightness of temper," thrown off their old friends and taken others by the hand. He was particularly desirous that they should show themselves good and true men to all the traders who should visit them. Two of their chiefs, with two others, accordingly visited Philadelphia in the summer of



1732, where a council was held on the last day of September. It was disclosed to these Indians at this meeting that the governor desired they should break up their western settlements and all return to the Susquehanna, on the west side, where he had caused to be laid out a large tract of land around the principal town where they had last been settled before going beyond the mountains, "which should always be kept for them and their children for all time to come." The crafty Shawanese would be pleased with the land—hoped the governor would secure it to them—but the place where they were then settled suited them much better than the Susquehanna region; so the council came to naught. The Six Nations had promised to join the governor in getting the Shawanese to return; and they felt sure they could persuade them to do so, provided the English traders were not allowed to visit them and supply them where they then were with all the goods they wanted. This the governor could not or would not do; and the Shawanese only feared the Six Nations, not the English; hence, their refusal to return to the Susquehanna.

It is not to be supposed the Six Nations had a very great desire for the return of the Shawanese for this reason: About the year 1725, because the Shawanese had, for a series of years (and the Delawares, too, for that matter) refused to enlist in any war against the English, on their side, they declared that they would put petticoats on them and look upon them in the future as women, and not men. And to the Shawanese

they said: "Look back toward the Ohio, the place whence you came, and return thitherward, for now we shall take pity on the English and let them have all this land." And they were, indeed, looking "back toward the Ohio;" and it was not many years before some of the nation actually reached it. But the Six Nations would make a show of endeavoring to get back the Shawanese at all events. So they sent some of their chief men to Allegheny to prevail with them to return towards the Susquehanna. But the Shawanese informed them that they would remove farther northward towards the French country. And they sent the Delawares a belt of wampum, informing them that, as they had to seek out a new country for themselves, they would be glad to have them go with them. But the Delawares were forbidden by their chief to go with the Shawanese, he, at the same time, advising the latter to return to the Susquehanna. The Six Nations were now very pressing for them to return, assuring them that they would take them under their wing and protect them; but "the Shawanese," as they afterward told the governor of Pennsylvania, "had entirely refused to leave that place, which they said was more commodious for them." Soon after this, a Mingo, who had acted as speaker for the Six Nation chiefs, was murdered by some one belonging to one of the Shawanese clans on the Alleghany. The whole clan, consisting of forty men and several women and children, thereupon, for fear of retributive justice being meted out to them, fled south-

ward; "and," said the Six Nations, in 1735, "it is supposed they are now returned to the place whence they first came, which is below Carolina."\*

In 1744, the Shawanese openly assumed in the Alleghany region a hostile character, taking up arms for the French against the English. The leading spirit in bringing about this disaffection was Peter Chartier. He owned, at one time, a tract of land at what was afterward New Cumberland, in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania. At that place, the Shawanese had a town soon after their arrival in the province. He was the son of Martin Chartier, a Frenchman living in Philadelphia. Peter Chartier, although he went to the wilderness as an English trader, was himself a Frenchman in all his sympathies and inclinations. He had his headquarters at a Shawanese village on the Alleghany, about twenty miles above the present Pittsburgh, which place became known as "Chartier's Old Town." He spoke the Shawanese language with great fluency, and followed very early those who migrated to the Alleghany. It was on the eighth of April, of the year just named, that he headed a number of Shawanese warriors, well armed with guns, pistols and cutlasses, and surprised and took prisoners two traders—James Dinnew and Peter Tastee—on the Alleghany, and robbed them of all their effects, to the amount of sixteen hundred pounds. But this trouble was of short duration. Chartier was recompensed by receiving a French com-

mission, and, in 1745, with a considerable number of Shawanese, moved down the Alleghany and Ohio to the Scioto river, thus gaining, for the first time on Ohio soil, a footing for Shawanese Indians.† Their settlement, at that time, was the only one occupied by savages (and, as we have already seen, there were no civilized men settled between the Ohio river and Lake Erie) within what are now the limits of the state.‡

A few of the Shawanese, enticed away by Chartier, soon after returned. Those who were now upon the Alleghany soon relented; made acknowledgments to the Pennsylvania government of their error, in being seduced by him; and prayed that they might be permitted to go back to their old town and be taken again as sincere penitents into the favor of that province. However, after having assurances that their past behavior would be pardoned, they said no more about returning to their old town. They, however, engaged in no more hostile

\* In Celoron's Journal, it is incorrectly stated that Chartier removed in 1745, to the River au Vermillion, on the Wabash." Compare Catholic Historical Researches, for January, 1886, p. 107.

‡ Concerning the flight of Chartier down the Alleghany and the Ohio to the Scioto, see 'Pennsylvania Colonial Records,' Vol. IV, pp. 758, 759; Vol. V, pp. 1, 2, 167, 311 note; 'Documentary History of New York,' Vol. II, p. 990; Crumrine's 'History of Washington County, Pennsylvania,' p. 18. The 'Colonial Records' make the mistake of supposing he had located upon a branch of the Mississippi; but the 'Documentary History of New York' correctly gives the Scioto. See also the 'History of Western Pennsylvania (Appendix),' pp. 17, 24, 29, and 'Pennsylvania Colonial Records,' Vol. V., p. 352, which show that Chartier went entirely away from the Indians upon the Alleghany and the head of the Ohio.

\* 'Pennsylvania Colonial Records,' Vol. III, p. 609.

acts for the time. Their fighting men, in 1748, upon the Alleghany and Ohio (for they had actually reached that river now,\* but only a short distance below its head, in what is now the state of Pennsylvania), numbered one hundred and sixty-two. Their principal village was Logstown, on the right bank of the Ohio, several miles below the mouth of the Alleghany. Their three villages upon the Conemaugh had removed to the Alleghany and the Ohio, followed, it is supposed, by the one upon the Juniata.

It has already been shown, in a previous chapter, that at a very early day the Iroquois were engaged in a war with the Shawanese with varying success. In 1681, while La Salle was at Fort Miami, at the mouth of the St. Joseph river of Lake Michigan, a chief of the Shawanese, from the Ohio valley, but below what is now the state of Ohio, whose following embraced one hundred and fifty warriors, came to ask the protection of the French against those enemies. "The Shawanese are too distant," was La Salle's reply; "but let them come to me at the Illinois, and they shall be safe." And it was not long before a considerable number was gathered there. These Shawanese never reached Ohio.†

A few Six Nation savages, who were known as Mingoes, were early settled on the Alleghany. As early as 1731, there were four families living at "Lequee-

pees." These Indians gradually increased in numbers, until, in 1748, there were upon that river and upon the Ohio near its head over three hundred warriors; of the Senecas, one hundred and sixty-three; of the Mohawks, seventy-four; of the Onondagas, thirty-five; of the Cayugas, twenty; and of the Oneidas, fifteen. No Mingoes had yet made their homes in what is now the state of Ohio, so far as is known.

After the return of the remains of the Tobacco nation to Michilimackinac, and their location, with a few of their kindred, upon the mainland at Point St. Ignace, they were generally known as the Hurons. In 1672, Marquette wrote to Dablon, that the "Hurons," who composed "the mission of St. Ignatius, at Michilimackinac," began the previous year, near his chapel, "a fort inclosing all their cabins." They then numbered three hundred and eighty souls. The Recollet Father, Louis Hennepin, who visited their town in 1678, with La Salle in his pioneer vessel, the *Griffin*, found "Hurons" settled "at the point of land of Michilimackinac" and Ottawa was "five or six arpents beyond." The Hurons, he declares, had "their village surrounded by palisades twenty-five feet high." Both nations "form alliances with one another in order to oppose, with one accord, the fury of the Iroquois, their sworn enemy." However, by the year 1681, the intercourse of these nations with the Senecas seems to have been frequent, when an unfortunate circumstance came well-nigh sending the Iroquois against them. But they treated with the Senecas without calling in the

\* It could have been but a short time before; see 'History of Western Pennsylvania,' Appendix, p. 21.

† Of the Shawanese who crossed the lower Ohio to the Illinois, subsequent to 1681, there is an excellent account in Force's 'Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio,' pp. 23-26.

French, for which they were reproached by Count Frontenac.

Sasteretsi was regarded at this time as head chief or king of the Hurons, and all business was done in his name when dealing with the French concerning matters relating to the nation as a whole. In 1686, one of the Hurons betrayed his countrymen, so that seventy, who were hunting in the Saginaw country, fell into the hands of the Iroquois with whom the nation was then at war, and were carried off. But Governor Thomas Dongan of New York, wished not only to win the Hurons but the Ottawas as well, to the English cause, claiming Michilimackinac as territory belonging to the crown. He sent traders there in the year last mentioned, as has already been spoken of, who were escorted for a distance by Senecas. They were well received by the Hurons. On their return, he sent another party, comprising some French deserters, under Colonel McGregor, to winter with the Senecas and induce them to restore the Huron prisoners and at the same time open up a trade in the spring. A second party was to follow.

McGregory and thirty Englishmen had proceeded as far as Lake Huron when the whole were captured by M. de la Durantaye, while on his way down from Michilimackinac. The second English party, led by Huron prisoners as guides, fell into M. Tonty's hands. In the winter following, a party of Hurons, sent out from Michilimackinac, passed Detroit, on the second of December, on their way to the Seneca country. When they had been out ten days they surprised an Iroquois en-

campment, killing and taking sixty-two, only two escaping of the entire number. The Hurons lost three and returned with eighteen prisoners. At Michilimackinac, in 1688, the Hurons and Ottawas had each a village, separated simply by a palisade, though the latter were building a fort. The Jesuit house and church were next the Hurons, in an inclosure by themselves. Early this year another party of Hurons marched against their ancient enemies—the Iroquois. The chief who led these braves was not pleased to learn, on his return, that the French had made peace with his enemies. He resolved this should not be lasting. He managed to set the Iroquois against his own friends—the French. The enraged Iroquois again took up the hatchet—they burst, in their fury, on Montreal island, with some Englishmen, and killed over two hundred of the settlers with every form of brutality.

Another chief of the Hurons, named the Baron, afterwards openly took sides with the English. This resulted in peace being made between the Iroquois and Hurons, only to be rendered of no avail to English traders through the efforts of Cadillac, who then commanded at Michilimackinac. And, before the close of the century, the whole Huron nation not only professed their allegiance to the French crown, but sent out, on two several occasions, successful war parties against the Iroquois.

No sooner had Cadillac reached "the strait," and began the building of Fort Pontchartrain, at what is now the city of Detroit, than he made strenuous ex-



ertions to gather there the Hurons from Michilimackinac. Ill-feelings had sprung up between this nation and the Ottawas, which made it an easy matter for Cadillac to persuade the former to move to his new post. The migration, however, was gradual; the whole had not gathered there until 1706, when the Ottawas had also settled in the vicinity. Here, too, were Pottawattamies and Miamis from the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan—the last-named, however, the next year returning to that stream. They soon got into trouble with Cadillac, who marched against them; but they sued for peace, which was granted them. The missionaries at Michilimackinac, now that the Hurons had left, burned their houses and descended to Quebec, and the whole French population disappeared from Point St. Ignace, except a few lawless *coureurs de bois*.

When, in 1710, the western tribes hesitated to take up the hatchet against the English, the Hurons set them an example by taking the field; and, when, two years after, the Foxes made their hostile demonstration against Detroit, they came with the other allies from their hunting ground and assisted in overpowering them. In 1718, the Hurons had their village about three furlongs from the French fort at Detroit, and their number was represented as one hundred fighting men; they were still on the right side of "the strait," near the fort, in 1721. In June of that year, Tonty convened the nation in council to announce to them that he was about to stop the liquor trade and

to invite them to join in the war against the Foxes. To the first they made no objection, admitting that it was a wise step; but they were averse to the war, as they had been too often sacrificed—too often hurried into needless wars which the French had terminated without consulting their interests. They did, however, in 1728, take up the hatchet, and served faithfully in an expedition of that year against the Fox Indians, and also in the year 1732. As early as 1718 the Hurons had probably hunted south of Lake Erie, for it is known that even earlier than that date they had given the name "Sandusky" to the stream emptying into the bay now known by the same name, in northwestern Ohio. "A hundred leagues from Niagara, on the south side of Lake Erie," says a memoir on the Indians between that lake and the Mississippi, of the year last named, "is a river called Sandusky, which the Indians of Detroit and Lake Huron take when they go to war with the Choctaws and other nations towards Carolina, such as the Cherokees—the Indians residing on the Cherokee river—and the Shawanese. They ascend the Sandusky river two or three days after which they make a small portage—a fine road of about a quarter of a league. Some make canoes of elm bark and float down a small river [Scioto] that empties into the Ohio."

The Hurons, who, while living at Michilimackinac had no ground there, laid claim, in 1732, along with the Weas and Miamis, to the territory from Lake Erie south to the Ohio river as their hunting ground. "Sieur de Joncaire,"

says M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas, in October, "whom I sent last year, has reported to me this spring that these Indians were settled in villages on the other side of the Ohio, six leagues below the River Atiqué; that there had been some negotiations between this nation and the Hurons, Miamis and Ottawas, to the end that the first-mentioned might have the privilege of lighting their fires on the north side of the Ohio; that the Hurons, among other things, had represented that, as they were disposed to live with them as brethren, if they located themselves on the north side of the river, they would injure their hunting-grounds, and that it would be better that they were in a place where they could not injure anybody. The Weas, who are their nearest neighbors, have expressed the joy they felt on the occasion, and matters have been arranged in that way among these tribes."\*

When, in 1744, war began between England and France, the Hurons sent out many war parties against the English; but this nation soon began to change sides; their hunting-grounds were largely the present state of Ohio to the eastward of the Miamis. The central point was the Sandusky river. While scattered thus, being in a measure accessible to English traders, they began to show hostility to the French. A prominent man of the nation was Orantondi, known to the French and English

as Nicholas—a war chief. In 1745, quite a large number of Hurons belonging to his tribe took up their abode in the Sandusky country,† at the head of Sandusky bay. This movement was induced by the growing dislike of the nation to the French and the increasing favor with which they looked upon the English. Late in the year some English traders from Pennsylvania visited Ayonontout, the village of Orantondi (Nicholas), and were received by the war chief with marked attention.‡ These traders would be pleased if he would permit them to erect a blockhouse in his village, one of goodly dimensions, and permit them to remain and dispose of their stock of goods. To this Nicholas readily assented, and there was soon erected, on the north side of Sandusky bay (but at what precise point is unknown) the first house—the work of civilized hands—within the limits of what are now the state of Ohio, so far as is known to history||

It was indeed strange that, notwith-

† "Some Hurons of Detroit, belonging to the tribe of the war chief Nicholas, who, some years since, settled at Sandusky," etc.—'Journal of Occurrences in Canada, 1746, 1747,' in 'New York Colonial Documents,' Vol. X., p. 114. The foregoing was written in the last year named—1747.

‡ "Ayonontout, the place selected, in 1747 [1745], by Nicholas, the rebel Huron chief, as his stronghold, near the little lake Otsanderket [Sandusky]." —Marquis de la Jonquiere to Governor Clinton, in 'New York Colonial Documents,' Vol. VI., p. 731. This "Ayonontout" is the "Junundat" of Lewis Evans' map, of 1755, which fixes the place at the head of the bay, as already stated.

|| This, of course, destroys the claim put forward for Frederick Christian Post (see 'The Olden Time,' Vol. I., pp. 85-89), who erected a cabin in what is now Stark county, Ohio, in 1761. There were many houses built by white men—mostly Indian traders—as will hereafter be seen, before the year last mentioned, within the present boundaries of Ohio.

\* What river was meant by Atiqué is unknown, but it must have been an affluent of the Ohio somewhere in the present state of Kentucky, else the Weas would not have been the nearest neighbors to the Shawanese settled near it.

standing all the exertions of the French at Detroit and in the west generally, to secure the friendship of the savage tribes to themselves, while at war with England, that Englishmen should gain a foothold so near to their principal post on the upper lakes, and with the first village of Indians on the southern shore of Lake Erie. Once there, and, as might be expected, their visit was prolonged; in fact, they had come to stay. It may be presumed their presence only served to increase the animosity of Nicholas and his band to the French. It is not surprising, therefore, that French traders were soon looked upon by that war chief as enemies. It so happened that the first who reached his village merely called there on their way to Detroit. They were five in number, with loads of peltry, being wholly in ignorance, until their arrival, that English traders had made a lodgment there. The latter urged Nicholas to seize the Frenchmen and their packs. He needed no stimulant to action. He was already greatly irritated that they should have presumed to trust to his hospitality and friendship. The result was the Frenchmen were tomahawked and their peltry sold to the English traders, and by the latter disposed of to a party of Senecas.

As soon as the governor of Canada was informed of the affair at Sandusky, he sent orders to M. de Longueuil, the Detroit commandant, to demand the surrender of the murderers of the five Frenchmen. The demand was made, but Nicholas paid no attention to it. Three other messengers were sent (only

one had gone at first) but these, too, were met with a refusal. "M. de Longueuil then sent a peremptory demand, requiring the surrender of the murderers to be disposed of according to his pleasure; that the Hurons must ally themselves at once with the French or the latter would become their irreconcilable enemies; that the French were disposed to look upon the recent murders as acts of irresponsible parties and not of the Huron tribe; and that all English traders must leave the Indian towns forthwith." The answer returned to these propositions amounted to a defiance, and preparations were made for an expedition against Sandusky. But the conspiracy, of which Nichols was the leading spirit, of a large number of the western tribes to destroy Detroit, an account of which has already been given, rendered the movement against him impracticable, and it was given up.

The arrival at Detroit on the twenty-second of September of a large number of boats and one hundred and fifty regular soldiers, had the effect to dampen the courage of Nicholas. He at once abandoned all his hostile plans and was ready and willing to make peace with M. de Longueuil. He secured from the commandant a pardon for himself and his band, upon agreeing to maintain peace in the future. Nothing was said about the English trading with them; and, as a matter of fact, the very next winter no less than two parties visited his town for the purpose of traffic. But the French were on the alert. The governor of Canada ordered the commandant at Detroit to give Nicholas notice

that no English traders would be allowed to go among his people or anywhere in the western country. A French officer was sent to Sandusky with the notification; and finding several English there, he commanded them to leave the country. Nicholas now seeing that his allies had nearly all deserted him, and that the French were determined no longer to suffer encroachments from the English, burned his village on Sandusky bay and the fort he had erected, and on the eighth of April, 1748, at the head of one hundred and nineteen warriors and their families, left for the White river, in what is now the state of Indiana, but soon after going to the Ohio river, near the present line of that state, where he died in the fall of that year. Those of his band who did not follow him from Sandusky, returned to their friends near the fort at Detroit.

Among the Hurons there was a deep-seated feeling against the French, and scarcely had Nicholas left the Sandusky before a band of one hundred fighting men broke off from the nation near Detroit, soon reaching the Sandusky. From there, thirty warriors made their way to Beaver creek, on the Ohio; where they put themselves under the protection of the Ohio Indians. They had their families with them, and were called Wyandots.\*

\* See Weiser's Journal, 1748, in Appendix to the 'History of Western Pennsylvania,' pp. 13-23, and 'Pennsylvania Colonial Records,' Vol. V., pp. 347-358, where these Indians are several times spoken of as Wandats, Owandats, Wandots; *i. e.*, Wyandots. I know of no earlier mention by that name of the band or bands of the Hurons who left the vicinity of Detroit; but the term "Ouendat" was, many years previous, mentioned as belonging to a tribe of the

They declared that their coming from the French was because of the hard usage they received from them; that they would always get their young men to go to war against their enemies and would use them as their own people; that is, like slaves; and their goods were so dear that they (the Indians) could not buy them. They hoped that the residue of their friends, whom they had left at Sandusky, would join them at Beaver; however, it seems they did not. The Wyandots were well received, not only by the Delawares and Shawanese, but by the Mingoes, at Beaver and in the other towns.

The first savages known to history that settled in the territory immediately to the west of what is now the state of Ohio, were the Miamis. This nation was first seen, in all probability, in 1634, by John Nicolet, when, during that year, he ascended the Fox river of Green bay to the home of the Mascoutins—the kindred of the Miamis.\* Their ancient seat seems to have been upon the small lakes, through which flows the stream

Hurons. See Jesuit 'Relation,' 1639, (Quebec ed.) p. 50; 1640, p. 35.

That the principal part of these disaffected "Wyandots" remained at Sandusky, rests upon conjecture alone. Those who reached Logstown, just above Beaver creek, in 1748, told Conrad Weiser that "there were one hundred fighting men that came over to join the English;" and that "seventy were left behind at another town, a good distance off." As "Wyandots" were soon after known to have been located at Sandusky (see Gist's Journal, p. 9, in Pownall's 'Topographical Description'), and as it was directly on the route from Detroit to Logstown, it is thought altogether probable that that was the place where they left the seventy warriors.

\* Butterfield's 'History of John Nicolet's Discovery of the Northwest in 1634,' p. 67.



just mentioned, in what is now the interior of the state of Wisconsin,† moving, subsequently, to the westward across the Mississippi,‡ also eastward to the River St. Joseph and beyond. But we anticipate.

On the fifteenth of September, 1670, Fathers Dablon and Allonez reached the village of the Mascoutins, probably in what is now Green Lake county, Wisconsin. Miami were found living with these Indians within the same enclosure or palisades. The united population, it is said, was more than three thousand souls. Soon after this visit came Nicholas Perrot in the interest of Saint-Lusson, to gather the tribes in the coming spring at the Sault de Ste. Marie, as previously described. As he approached the Miami village with an escort of Pottawattamies given him at Green bay (inasmuch as war was imminent between the Mascoutins and the Sioux), he sent forward a troop of young savages to announce his arrival to the great Miami chief, Tetinchona, who ordered out a detachment to meet the Frenchman, determined to give him such a reception as would at the same time impress the white man with his (Tetinchona's) own power. The Miami advanced in battle order, all the braves adorned with feathers, armed at all points, and uttering war-cries from time to time. The Pottawattamies who escorted Perrot, seeing them come in this guise, prepared to receive them in the same manner; and the Frenchman put himself at their

head. When the two troops were in face of each other, they stopped as if to take breath; then all at once Perrot's men took the right, the Miami the left, all running in Indian file, as though they wished to gain an advantage to charge. But the Miami wheeling in the form of an arc, the Pottawattamies were invested on all sides. Then both sides uttered loud yells, which were the signal for the sham-fight to begin. The Miami fired a volley from their guns, which were loaded only with powder, and the Pottawattamies returned it in the same way. After this, they closed in, tomahawks in hand, all the blows being received on those implements. Peace was then made. The Miami presented the calumet to Perrot and led him with all his escort into the chief town, where Tetinchona assigned him a guard of fifty braves, regaled him splendidly after the custom of the country, diverting him with a game of *la crosse*.

Tetinchona could put on foot four or five thousand combatants, and never marched except with a guard of forty braves, who patrolled night and day around his wigwam while Perrot was in his village. The chief rarely communicated with his subjects, contenting himself with imparting his orders through one of his officers—at least so says Perrot.\*

When on the seventh of June, 1673, Louis Joliet and his party reached the village of the Mascoutins on Fox river of Green bay, it was discovered that the town was made up of three nations:

† Shea's 'Hennepin,' p. 258.

‡ 'La Potherie, Vol. II., pp. 251, 260. Shea's 'Hennepin,' pp. 205, 206.

\* La Potherie, II, 125. Compare in this connection the 'Relation of 1671' (Quebec ed.), pp. 45-47.

the Mascoutins, Miamis and Kickapoos. Marquette in describing the Miamis says: They were "more civil, liberal and better made" than the others. They wore two long ear locks, "which gave them a good appearance." They also had "the name of being warriors, and seldom sent out war parties in vain." They were very docile, listened quietly to what was told them and showed themselves so eager to hear Father Allouez when he visited them and gave them instruction, "that they gave him little rest even at night." Two Miamis were given Joliet as guides, to go presumably no further, however, than the portage between the Fox river and the Wisconsin, or, at most, than the river last named.\*

After the visit of Joliet to the Miamis, as just described, their migration soon began, for, in December, 1679, a village of that nation, with some Mascoutins and Weas, was discovered by La Salle at the portage between the river St. Joseph and the waters of the Kankakee, near what is now the city of South Bend Indiana. The stream first mentioned was for that reason called by La Salle the Miami river. But the Miamis were the hereditary enemies of the Illinois.

Once upon the Illinois river, and La Salle strongly urged the Indians there to make peace with the Miamis. His efforts proved successful; for the last named sent an embassy to the Illinois and made an alliance with them against

the Iroquois, their common enemy. "The Sieur de La Salle," says Hennepin, "made some presents to unite these two nations more firmly together."

The intendant of Canada, M. du Chesneau, gives, in 1681, in a memoir concerning the western Indians, the reason why the Illinois were attacked by the Iroquois:

To explain the cause of the cruel war waged by the Iroquois for these three years past against the Illinois, I will say that the former, who are great warriors, who cannot remain idle, and who pretend to subject all other nations to themselves, though they compose only five villages, and can muster under arms no more than two thousand men at most, never want a pretext for commencing hostilities.

The following was their assumed excuse for the present war: Going, about twenty years ago, to attack the Foxes, they met the Illinois and killed a considerable number of them. This continued during the succeeding years, and, finally, having destroyed a great many, they forced them to abandon their country and to seek for refuge in very distant parts [across the Mississippi]. The Iroquois, having got quit of the Illinois, took no more trouble with them, and went to war against another nation called Andastagues, who were very numerous and whom they entirely destroyed. Pending this war, the Illinois returned to their country, and the Iroquois complained that they had killed nearly forty of their people who were on their way to hunt beaver in the Illinois country. To obtain satisfaction, the Iroquois resolved to make war on them. Their true motive, however, was to gratify the English at Manhattan and Albany, of whom they are too near neighbors, and who, by means of presents, engaged the Iroquois in this expedition, the object of which was to force the Illinois to bring their beaver to them, so that they may go and trade it afterwards with the English; also to intimidate the other nations and constrain them to do the same thing.

The improper conduct of Sieur de la Salle, governor of Fort Frontenac, in the neighborhood of the Iroquois, has contributed considerably to cause the latter to adopt this proceeding; for after he had obtained permission to discover the great river of Mississippi, and had, as he alleged, the grant of the

\*"He [Joliet] prayed for guides to show them the way to the waters of the Wisconsin."—Parkman's 'La Salle,' p. 53. But this restriction, as in the text, is only an inference.

Illinois, he no longer observed any terms with the Iroquois. He ill-treated them and avowed that he would convey arms and ammunition to the Illinois, and would die assisting them. They did, in fact, remark that he carried quantities thereof thither, and that after having traded with them, he returned without prosecuting his discovery, which was the pretext for his journey to the country of the said savages as it was to that of the French.

The Iroquois dispatched, in the month of April of last year (1680), an army, consisting of between five and six hundred men, who approached an Illinois village where *Sieur de Tonty*, one of *Sieur de la Salle's* men, happened to be with some Frenchmen and two *Recollet* Fathers, whom the Iroquois left unharmed. One of these, a most holy man, has since been killed by the Indians. But they would not listen to the terms of peace proposed to them by *Sieur de Tonty*, who was slightly wounded at the commencement of the attack. The Illinois having fled a hundred leagues thence, were pursued by the Iroquois, who killed and captured as many as twelve hundred of them, including women and children, having lost only thirty men.

The Iroquois, returning home loaded with beaver and some goods, passed by the *Miamis* and deliberated whether they should attack them. They did not do so, however, and some of their followers having, whilst hunting, killed a child and captured some women belonging to that nation, the chiefs of their village went to the Iroquois with presents to demand their prisoners, saying they were friends. Their request was granted, and an Illinois child was given them in the place of the one that had been killed.

The memoir of *M. du Chesneau* is, so far as the *Miamis* are concerned, at fault in not stating the fact that they were the active allies of the Iroquois in their invasion of the Illinois country. "The *Sieur de la Salle*," says *Hennepin*, "before returning to *Fort Frontenac* had left the *Miamis* perfectly united with the Illinois; but the Iroquois, who are a cunning people, men of war, and of deep designs, gained the *Miamis* by presents, which was accomplished just about the time that the French [de-

serters], who had abandoned us at the Illinois, had taken refuge among the *Miamis*. The next autumn the Iroquois, with about eight hundred men, armed with guns, joined the *Miamis* and fell upon the Illinois, who had only bows and arrows to defend themselves. The noise of the Iroquois guns so alarmed them that these men, who are great runners, took flight towards the *River Mississippi*. In this confusion it was not difficult for the Iroquois, joined to the *Miamis*, to carry off about eight hundred slaves, including women and young boys. These cannibals ate on the spot some old Illinois men and burned several others, who were not strong enough to follow them to the country of the Iroquois, a journey of more than four hundred leagues."\*

And thus *Father Zenobe Membré*, a *Recollet* friar, who was with the Illinois when they were attacked :

*Monsieur de la Salle*, on his arrival at the Illinois last year, made peace between the *Miamis* and the Illinois; but, as the Indians are very inconstant and faithless, the Iroquois and the *Miamis* afterward united against the Illinois.†

The *Miamis* who migrated from *Fox river* of *Green bay* to the *Mississippi*, were not involved with the Illinois in the war of 1780; but fear of the Iroquois drove them, along with the latter, away from the "Great Water;" for these *Miamis* had not entered into a compact against the former. On the eleventh of April, of the year just mentioned, the expedition sent out by *La Salle* to the country of the *Sioux*, of

\* *Shea's 'Hennepin,'* pp. 266, 267.

† *Shea's 'Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,'* p. 154.

which Father Hennepin was one, while moving up the Mississippi, was suddenly met by thirty-three bark canoes, manned by a hundred and twenty Sioux, coming down the river with extraordinary speed, to make war on the Miamis, Illinois and Tamaroas. "These Indians surrounded us," says Father Hennepin, "and while at a distance discharged some arrows at us; but as they approached our canoe the old men seeing us with the calumet of peace in our hands, prevented the young men from killing us. These brutal men leaping from their canoes, some on land, others into the water with frightful cries and yells, approached us, and as we made no resistance, being only three against so great a number, one of them wrenched our calumet from our hands, while our canoe and theirs were made fast to the shore. We first presented them a piece of French tobacco, better for smoking than theirs; and the eldest among them uttered these words—Miamiha, Meamiha. As we did not understand their language, we took a little stick and by signs which we made on the sand, showed them that their enemies, the Miamis, whom they sought, had fled across the Mississippi to join the Illinois." However, as we shall presently see, they afterward returned to that river.

It has already been seen that La Salle, returning from the valley of the Illinois, wintered at Fort Miami, spending his time in the spring of 1681, in making friends of the Indians, and in endeavoring to unite them against the Iroquois; for he well understood that the incursions of these eastern foes must be

stopped or his plans upon the Illinois must be given up. A few straggling savages from the east, occupying huts at the mouth of the St. Joseph were first won over to La Salle's designs. Then he would see the Illinois savages for a like purpose, as some of these Indians had already returned to their country. He had audience with a band, urging them not only to make peace with the Miamis, but to enter into an alliance with them against the Iroquois. He assured them that he would live with them and not only supply them with goods, but would help to defend them. La Salle's message, the band agreed to carry to their nation. Having returned to Fort Miami, he ascended the St. Joseph to the village of the Miamis, on the portage, at the headwaters of the Kankakee. By adroit speeches, he soon convinced the Indians there located, that it was their interest to strike hands with the Illinois instead of warring against them.

Reports of a renewal of the Iroquois war cause a quick determination of the Miamis of the river St. Joseph to cast their lot with the western tribes. They moved to the Illinois, where they were soon gathered with a number of other nations around the fort erected by La Salle on "Starved Rock"—Fort St. Louis. The Illinois had returned to the river; and around the "Rock" were gathered, in 1683, four thousand warriors or twenty thousand souls.\* "Last

Franquelin, on his map of the next year (1684) puts down the Miamis proper, at 300, the Weas at 500, the Piankeshaws at 150, as present upon the Illinois. These three tribes were closely united in kinship: they all spoke the same language.



year," wrote La Salle from his fort in June, "the Miamas were so alarmed by the Iroquois that they abandoned their town and fled; but, at my return, they came back, and have been induced to settle with the Illinois at my fort of St. Louis." And here they probably remained until, in the autumn, upon La Salle's departure for Quebec, they returned to their village at the source of the Kankakee.\* Strange as it may seem, two years had not elapsed before the Miamis were again at war with the Illinois. "The Miamis," says Tonty, "having seriously defeated the Illinois, it cost us one thousand dollars to reconcile these two nations, which I did not accomplish without great trouble." This seems to have been a final reconciliation, as there are no accounts extant of subsequent warfare between these tribes.

At this date (1685) the Miamis, who fled with the Illinois beyond the Mississippi, had returned to that river, and were anxious to open a trade with the

\*The reason for the belief that the Miamis left the vicinity of Fort St. Louis upon the starting of La Salle for the St. Lawrence, is based upon the fact that early in the ensuing spring (1684) that fort was assailed by the Iroquois, and no mention is made of Miamis or other savages being in the vicinity.

"The winter passed," says Tonty, "and on the twentieth of March, 1684, being informed that the Iroquois were about to attack us, we prepared to receive them, and dispatched a canoe to M. de la Durantaye, governor of Michilimackinac, for assistance, in case the enemy should hold out against us a long time. The savages appeared on the twenty-first, and we repulsed them with loss. After six days siege they retired, with some slaves which they had made in the neighborhood, who afterwards escaped and came back to the fort."—Mem. of Sieur de Tonty, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, P. I., p. 66. Tonty says the Iroquois numbered two hundred.

French at Green bay. They applied to Nicholas Perrot, who was at Post St. Anthony at that time, at the head of the bay. Forty Miamis came to him, asking him to set up an establishment on the Mississippi, and near the Wisconsin, in order that they could sell their furs there. To gain his consent, they brought him presents—a beautiful specimen of lead from their region, and each of the forty gave him four beaver skins. The Miamis had undertaken this embassy because they had previously been forced to sell their furs cheap to the Pottawattamies and pay dear to them for French goods; for the Indians last mentioned had been before that time their middle-men. The result was that Perrot agreed to establish himself within twenty days where they desired, and he accordingly erected a fort below the mouth of the Wisconsin, on the west side of the Mississippi river, in a situation very strong against the assaults of neighboring tribes. Here six sub-tribes of the Miamis made a treaty with Perrot. It is presumed, however, that the Miamis soon followed the Illinois, with whom they were in close alliance, to the valley of the Illinois river, for, in 1687, they were seen there. There was, at this time, no fear of the Iroquois, for the latter were engaged in a war with the French in Canada, and consequently found plenty of employment at home. Some of the Miamis even marched to the assistance of their white friends, and were present when the enemies' country was invaded.

The English were exceedingly anxious to patch up a peace between the west-

ern Indians and the Iroquois, so as to not only weaken the French, but secure the trade of the savages. "Now the great matter," said the English governor at Albany, on the fifth day of August, 1687, "is, with the Iroquois, how to strengthen themselves and weaken their enemy." "My opinion is," he continued, in a proposition to those savages, "that you should send messengers to the Ottawas and the Miamis and the further Indians, to bury the hatchet and make a covenant chain, to the end that they may put away all the French that are amongst them, and that you will open a path for them this way." But the crafty Iroquois replied: "As for the Miamis, who are our mortal enemies, and have killed a great many of our people, we know not whether we can effect a peace with them; nevertheless, upon your excellency's desire we will try and do our endeavor." It is certain, however, that if any attempt was made to establish a peace with them it failed signally.

Before the end of the year 1695, and previous to the establishing of peace between the French and the Iroquois, the latter sent four hundred of their warriors against the Miamis upon the St. Joseph and upon the Kalamazoo as well, for these Indians had some of their bands as far eastward as that place at this date. But the eastern warriors did not meet with great success, for they had the French, wherever stationed in the west, against them. And near the close of the century, although the war between France and England was ended, and there was peace between the former

and the Iroquois; not so between these Indians and the Miamis. However, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1700, at a private conference which the Earl of Bellomont had with two of the principal sachems of each of the Iroquois nations, his lordship proposed peace measures with the western Indians. He told them that they must needs be sensible that the Miamis and other remote Indians were vastly more numerous "than you Five Nations, and that by their continual warring upon you they will in a few years totally destroy you. I should, therefore, think it prudence and good policy in you to try all possible means to fix a trade and correspondence with all those nations, by which means you would reconcile them to yourselves; and with my assistance, I am in hopes, in a short time, they might be brought to be united with us in the covenant chain; and then you might at all times, without any hazard, go a hunting into their country, which I understand is much the best for beaver hunting. I wish you would try to bring some of them to speak to me; perhaps I might prevail with them to come and live amongst you, and I should think myself obliged to reward you for such a piece of service." The reply of the Iroquois was to the effect that sixteen of the nations living to the westward had already resolved to fraternize with them. Of course, these included the Miamis and their near kindred, the Weas and Piankeshaws.

The building of a fort at Detroit, in 1701, brought thither "many Miamis," who, the next year, made overtures

with the English at Albany for trade—"to see if goods are cheaper here than elsewhere; and where we find goods cheapest, thither we will bend our course." "We designed," they continued, "to go to Canada with our beaver and peltry, but we ventured and are come here to try and see whether goods be cheaper here than there." To this Lord Cornbury replied: "I perceive some of your people have left their native country and come to live at a place [Detroit] where the French have built a fort last year without leave of the Five Nations, who claim that country. I am also informed that the French are very loath you should come and trade here, fearing that you will receive so much satisfaction that you will forever hereafter decline going to Canada. I observe, further, that you have met with some difficulties in your journey hither at the carrying place for want of guides to conduct you hither.

"As to the first," continued his lordship, "I could wish that since you are removed, that you would come and live near us at Niagara or some other convenient place, that, upon occasion, we might be able to supply you without any interruption from the French; and I conjure you to acquaint your sachems that I send these two belts of wampum, one to each nation [for the Hurons were also represented], by which I invite them to come and see me next July." Although the Detroit Miamis did not visit Albany in July, as requested, they had already entered into an honorable peace with the Senecas; so it may be said that the Iroquois and

the Miamis were now friends; but it was six years subsequent to this before the latter opened a trade with the English at Albany. Meanwhile, they had left Detroit, migrating back to the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan.

The Miamis, in 1707, after the return of those who had been living at Detroit, demanded of Cadillac, the commandant of that post, the head of an Ottawa chief who had deeply offended them. At this time, Father Claude Aveneau was missionary to those Indians, he having been with them upon the St. Joseph for a number of years. Cadillac thought he could better manage the Miamis by removing Aveneau from them. But this only made matters worse. The Miamis now proceeded to acts of violence; killed three Frenchmen, and even committed some ravages in the vicinity of Detroit. Cadillac was informed that they had plotted killing him and massacring all the French at his post; that some Hurons and Iroquois had entered the plot, and that they would have carried out their design, had not a Wea Indian betrayed them. This information and the insult he had just received, made Cadillac resolve on declaring war against the Miamis; "and, to appearance," says Charlevoix, "he made serious preparations for it; but all were much astonished to see his whole efforts end in making terms with them, dishonorable alike to himself and the French nation."

The inevitable result of yielding to the Indians after threatening them, followed. The war was renewed and Cadillac marched against them at the head

of four hundred men, French and Indians. He attacked them in their fort upon the St. Joseph,\* but they made a brave defense.† The result was a parley and the delivery of hostages by the Miamis; and Cadillac returned to Detroit. The missionary was sent back to them. The next year, notwithstanding peace had been made with Cadillac, a deputation of the Miamis proceeded to Albany, where they were welcomed by the English and received presents of great value. A trade was agreed upon with these Indians and it continued for four years, when the French government decided it should cease. The governor of Canada sent M. de Vincennes as his messenger to the St. Joseph, offering peace or war. The Miamis decided for peace; and for several years after gave the French but little trouble.

Meanwhile, an emigration took place. The Miamis moved up the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, upon which they had so long lived, to near its head, crossed to the other River St. Joseph, which, with the St. Mary's, forms the Maumee, and dropping down that stream to the mouth, began a new settlement.‡

\* It is erroneously stated in Goodman's 'Journal of Captain Trent,' (p. 11), that "M. de Cadillac marched against the [Miami] towns on the Maumee, Great Miami and Wabash." See 'Shea's Charlevoix,' Vol. V, pp. 202, 203.

† Charlevoix says Cadillac carried their intrenchments; but this is denied. See 'Sheldon's Early History of Michigan,' pp. 285, 286.

‡ "The Miamis and Pottawattamies formerly resided with some missionaries at the River St. Joseph [of Lake Michigan]; it is not long since they were there."—Memoir on the Indians of Canada, etc., 1718. 'New York Colonial Documents,' Vol. IX, p. 89.

In 1718 Miami Indians numbering about two thousand souls, of whom four hundred were warriors, occupied the place—the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana. Some of the nation, however, not long after returned to the St. Joseph.|| A cotemporaneous account gives this description of the Miamis that had left the St. Joseph:

They are sixty leagues from Lake Erie and number four hundred (all well formed) men and well tattooed; the women are numerous. They are hard-working, and raise a species of maize unlike that of our Indians at Detroit; it is white, of the same size of the other, the skin much finer and the meal much whiter. The nation is clad in deer skin, and when a married woman goes with another man, her husband cuts off her nose and does not see her any more. This is the only nation that has such a custom. They love plays and dances, wherefore they have more occupation. The women are well clothed, but the men use scarcely any covering and are tattooed all over the body.

There was an inducement for the Miamis to migrate eastward, in their nearer approach to the English and also in being nigh their kindred—the Weas, who early in the century were upon the Chicago river, but had recently removed to the Wabash, near where the French erected afterward Fort Wiatanon, while the Piankeshaws had settled in the vicinity of what is now Vincennes, In-

|| Charlevoix, who was upon that river in 1721, says: "We have here [on the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan] two villages of savages—one of Miamis and the other Pottawattamies." And again: "The Mascoutins had, not long since, a settlement on this river; but they are returned to their own country, which is, as they say, still finer. The Pottawattamies have successfully occupied here several posts and remain here still. Their village is on the same side [of the river] at the [French] fort, a little lower and on a very fine spot. The village of the Miamis is on the other side the river."—Letters to the Dutchess of Lesdiguières,' pp. 221, 224.



diana\* "The Miamis," wrote Charlevoix, in 1721, "are divided into three villages; one on the St. Joseph [of Lake Michigan], the second on another river which bears their name and runs into Lake Erie [long called "the Miami of Lake Erie," now the Maumee], and the third upon the Wabash, which runs into the Mississippi. These last are known by the name of Weas."

A party of Miamis, in July, 1723, visited New York with an interpreter and asked the English to come to their country with goods. They were from the Wabash. This was followed up by traders from Carolina visiting those Indians and building two houses and some stores on what is known as the White river. The expedition of M. de Arnaud against the Weas, in 1733, which was terminated by that officer returning after going no farther than the head of the Maumee, has already been described. At the commencement of the war, in 1744, between France and England, the Miamis sided with the French, and, in 1745, they came near being embroiled with the Iroquois—several Senecas being killed by them. However, when Nicholas entered into his conspiracy, in 1747, to massacre all the French in the west, they, with sixteen other tribes, joined in the movement—"the fruit of the belts the English distributed among them."

The French at this date had a stockade at the head of the Maumee, in

\* It is possible that the Piankeshaws had preceded the Weas to the Wabash a number of years, which may account for the early settling of Vincennes—in 1702, according to tradition.

which, in July, were eight Frenchmen. These were seized by the Miamis, but were not injured: two were allowed to go free. They seized all the property of these men, and burnt a portion of the buildings.† In February, 1748, the Miamis asked for peace of the French and obtained it. An officer was sent to their village at what is now Fort Wayne, Indiana, to rebuild the fort. He took with him a number of men. The stockade had not been a month completed before the Miamis sent a message to the Six Nations informing them that they were desirous of entering into friendly alliance with the English, asking them to communicate the fact to the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, so that a place of meeting could be provided. The principal thing that prompted this action of the Miamis was undoubtedly because they desired to traffic with the English rather than with the French; they could purchase goods so much cheaper of the former. The Six Nations were not slow in notifying the English governors of the desire of the Miamis; and a meeting took place on the nineteenth of July, 1748, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and on the twenty-third a treaty was signed.

"This treaty," said the governor of Pennsylvania to the assembly of his province, soon after, "must necessarily strengthen the English interests in general among the Indians, contribute greatly to the security of our inhabitants in time of war, and tend considerably to enlarge our Indian trade, espec-

†New York Colonial Documents, Vol. X, p. 140.

ially as we are assured by the Twightwee [Miami] deputies, that not less than twelve towns in their neighborhood are equally desirous with them to become our allies and settle a correspondence with us. Should this be effected, besides the advantages already mentioned, the intercourse between the French in Canada and the Mississippi would be greatly interrupted, the nearest and most convenient passage being through those towns." It is certain that these words only added to the determination of the French a greater zeal in getting ready to make that passage safe. Up to this date—July, 1748—the Miami Indians had no villages east of the head of the Maumee river and the Wabash. At the treaty at Lancaster, just mentioned, Andrew Montour, speaking for the "Six Nations living at Ohio," said: "We have now the pleasure to present to you some of the chiefs of the Twightwee [Miami] nation—a large and powerful tribe living on the Wabash, a great river running into the Ohio." The commissioners also declared that they were informed by these chiefs that on the Wabash and another river called the "Hatchet," the Miamis and their allies

had twenty towns and that they count one thousand fighting men.\*

In the early part of 1748, there was not, nor had there ever been before that time, so far as is known to history, a village of the Miamis proper, or of the Weas or Piankeshaws—their near kindred and usually counted as Miamis—upon the Great Miami, the Little Miami, or the Scioto; however, before another year had passed, Miamis had seated themselves, not only on the river first mentioned, but on the second also, entirely within the present limits of the state of Ohio.

#### CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

\*'Pennsylvania Colonial Records,' Vol. V, pp. 308, 315. It should also be borne in mind that in the speech of the governor of Pennsylvania, just related, he declares that the nearest and best passage (meaning of course by way of the Maumee and the Wabash) from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi was through their towns.

The declaration of Little Turtle, a distinguished Miami chief, to General Wayne in 1795, at the treaty of Greenville, has often been quoted as accurately defining the boundaries of the territory of the Miamis "from time immemorial." "It is well known," said he, "by all my brothers present, that my forefathers kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the headwaters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan." It is certain from this that he had no correct idea of the previous migrations of his ancestors.

[To be continued.]

## PIONEERS OF HOMŒOPATHY IN SOUTHERN OHIO.

THE first of whom we have any account was Joseph H. Pulte, M. D., born in Mescheel, Westphalia, Germany, October 6, 1811. His father was medical director in one of the government institutions for the education of midwives. After completing a thorough literary course, Dr. Pulte graduated in medicine at the University of Marburg.

In the spring of 1834, he and his oldest brother landed in New York. His brother proceeded directly to St. Louis, Missouri, while the doctor settled at Cherryville, Northampton county, Pennsylvania, where he formed the acquaintance of Dr. William Wesselhoff, by whom he was induced to investigate homœopathy. His experiences were so satisfactory that he very soon embraced its doctrines and gave to its study his whole energy, until he had mastered it, which was no easy task, for books and repertoires were then quite unknown. Nearly all knowledge of Hahnemann's method existed at that time in the form of manuscripts and had to be copied for circulation. Dr. Pulte assisted in forming the first homœopathic medical society in Northampton county, and perhaps in the United States, and assisted in organizing and sustaining the first homœopathic medical school in the United States—the Alletown academy. On its dissolution in

1840, Dr. Pulte started to join his brother in St. Louis. On his way thither he became acquainted with the lady who afterward became his wife. He did not then complete his journey to St. Louis, but stopped at Cincinnati and became engaged in practice of his profession here. In a short time he opened a private dispensary which was soon largely patronized by the poorer classes. The news of his success soon became known throughout the city, when the rich as well as the poor flocked to his rooms for relief, and in an inconceivably short time he had all of the business he could attend to. Meantime he engaged in literary and scientific work, which received the highest commendation from literary and scientific men of both continents.

When cholera approached this country in 1849, Dr. Pulte took active means to spread a knowledge of the best method of preventing the disease and of its treatment. During the prevalence of the epidemic which followed, he and his partner, Dr. B. F. Erhman, were busy day and night. The results of their practice were of the most extraordinary character, insomuch that their adversaries had these two physicians arrested for, as alleged, not reporting properly their deaths from cholera. A legal investigation followed, which was in every way satisfactory to them. In 1850, Dr. Pulte published the 'Domestic Physi-

cian,' which was soon after translated into Spanish, and proved very profitable in its sales through Cuba, Spain and South America. Its sales in England were unprecedented for an American book.

In 1852, in connection with Professor H. P. Gatchell, he commenced the publication of the Magazine of Homœopathy and Hydropathy, in which he continued about two years. In the same year he accepted an invitation to take the chair of clinical medicine and obstetrics in the Western College of Homœopathy, at Cleveland, Ohio, which he filled most acceptably two years.

In 1853-4, seeing the necessity for a place of amusement in Cleveland, he built the Academy of Music, which remained in his possession for nearly seven years.

In 1853 he published the 'Woman's Medical Guide,' which became a very popular work, and sold very largely in this country and England. It was also translated into Spanish, and had an extensive circulation in Cuba and South American countries. In 1855 he published a monograph upon diphtheria and its treatment. In the same year he delivered the annual address before the American Institute of Homœopathy at Buffalo, New York. In 1872, he assisted in organizing a homœopathic medical college in Cincinnati, which, in honor of his long and valuable labors in the profession, bears his name.

He accepted the chair of clinical medicine in the college, which he occupied two years. Owing to advancing age and accumulating infirmities, he relin-

quished the duties of this office in 1874. Dr. Pulte acquired large wealth as the result of his labors and frugality, and lived to enjoy it until March, 1884, when he passed on to the reward that awaits a faithful and conscientious stewardship.

BENJAMIN F. ERHMAN.

The next homœopathic physician, in point of time, whom we find among the pioneers in southern Ohio, is Dr. Benjamin F. Erhman. He was born in Jack-Haussen, Germany, and emigrated to the United States in 1834. He acquired his medical education at the Allentown academy, and took his degree from the Hahnemann Homœopathic Medical College of Philadelphia. He afterward settled for a short time in Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania. In 1843 we find him in Chillicothe, Ohio, practicing his profession. In 1849 he removed to Cincinnati and formed a partnership with Dr. Pulte. At the expiration of the partnership he purchased property adjoining his former office and continued to practice until a few months previous to his death in March, 1886.

DR. DAVIS.

In July, 1849, Dr. Davis, a very skillful and intelligent physician, opened a pharmacy and free dispensary in Cincinnati, and during the cholera epidemic which then prevailed, rendered very efficient pioneer work in behalf of homœopathy. Many of the citizens had become quite thoroughly demoralized, on account of the alarming mortality of the epidemic, under allopathic practice,



and patronized the pharmacy with the utmost liberality for preventive medicines, which were now quite well known to both profession and laity. After a few years Dr. Davis disposed of his pharmacy and left the city, and we have been unable to trace his further history.

JAMES G. HUNT, M. D.,

Was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, June 12, 1821. He received a good literary education at Woodward college of that city, and graduated in medicine from the "Eclectic Medical Institute," of Cincinnati, in March, 1848. He entered into partnership in practice with Professor B. L. Hill. In 1852 they issued jointly a work upon homœopathic surgery. In 1853 he retired from the profession for a short time, but such were its attractions to him that he soon returned again and continues in it to the present time. He enjoys good health and a fair practice, being mostly limited to chronic diseases.

WILLIAM OWENS, M. D.,

Was born in the town of Warren, Trumbull county, Ohio, April 24, 1823, and is now nearly sixty-three years of age. His ambition for more than a common school education tempted him, at the age of fourteen to seek his fortune in a larger city, and in February, 1837, he took up his residence in Cincinnati, where, as a means of carrying out his wishes, he learned a trade (that of cooper) at which he could work "piece work" morning and evening and attend school or college the balance of the time. In the

spring of 1844 he was prepared to enter Woodward college, where he remained two years. Meantime he clerked in a drug store morning and evening. In 1846 he volunteered and went into the American war. He was soon after appointed hospital steward in the First regiment Ohio volunteers. At the close of the war he returned and reëngaged in the same drug store that he left to go into the war. He was to clerk in the store in the mornings and evenings, and go to college during the day. In this way he attended four full courses of lectures. On a final and competitive examination he secured the honor of an appointment as demonstrator of anatomy in the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati, which he held for two terms, when he resigned to accept the same position, with the addition of assistant lecturer on anatomy, in the Western College of Homœopathy in Cleveland, where he remained one term and returned to Cincinnati to resume his practice. Dr. Owens graduated from the Eclectic Institute in 1849, and immediately commenced the practice of Hahnemann's method, as he had learned it from Professor Rosa. During the war Dr. Owens entered the service, in the Fifth regiment Ohio cavalry, as an officer of the line, but after the battle of Shiloh he was assigned to the charge of the cavalry field hospital at Corinth, Mississippi, and moved with the army to Chattanooga and Atlanta. After the battle of Nashville he was assigned to Crittenden general hospital at Louisville, Kentucky, and from thence to hospital number sixteen at Nashville, Tennessee,

where he remained until the close of the war. In June, 1865, he was appointed examining surgeon for pensions for Hamilton county, which position he held four years. Dr. Owens assisted in the organization of Pulte Medical college in 1872, and accepted the chair of anatomy therein. In 1874 he was invited to take the chair of *materia medica* and general therapeutics, which he accepted and held until he closed his connection with the college in 1884.

Dr. Owens was a thorough and uncompromising advocate of the coeducation of the sexes. He has for many years had a large professional clinic and has by diligence and economy secured a fair competence and an honorable name in the profession.

His son, William Owens, Jr., M. D., is associated with him in practice and relieves him of a portion of his labors. In 1853 Dr. Owens married Miss Sarah E. Wilcox, by whom he had six children, four of whom are living.

#### A. SHEPHERD, M. D.,

Graduated at the Eclectic Medical institute in Cincinnati, March, 1849, and immediately moved to Springdale, Hamilton county, Ohio, and commenced the practice of homœopathy. So far as known, Dr. Shepherd was the only homœopathic physician at that time between Cincinnati and Dayton. In a few years Dr. Shepherd moved to Glendale, Hamilton county, Ohio, and bought and improved a handsome property in which he resides at the present time. He has accumulated considerable wealth, as the result of a long and industrious profes-

sional life. Two sons honor their father by adopting his profession.

#### H. P. GATCHELL, M. D.

Was born in Hollowell, Maine, and graduated at Bowdoin college, Maine. He came west and graduated in medicine in the Louisville Medical college. Not being satisfied with the prevailing system of therapeutics of the day, he, in 1842, obtained some French works on homœopathy. He investigated the system, experimented with it, and soon satisfied himself that it was the most important contribution to medical science that had ever been made, and ever after he became one of its leading exponents. In 1843, Dr. Gatchell married Miss Anna Crane of Cincinnati, who with five sons survive him. In 1848 he accepted the professorship of anatomy in the Eclectic Medical institute, in Cincinnati, meantime practicing homœopathy, and through his influence Dr. Storm Rosa was invited to lecture in the institute the following year. In 1850, Dr. Gatchell removed to Cleveland and accepted a professorship in the Western College of Homœopathy.

He has for the last ten years been connected with a sanitarium in Ashville, North Carolina, which is a popular health resort. He died a few months since, and his son continues the work.

#### F. H. RHEIWINKLE, M. . .

Succeeded Dr. B. F. Erhman, at Chillicothe in 1849, and practiced homœopathy here about two years, when he abandoned medicine for dentistry, which he now follows in that city.

## ADOLPH BAUER, M. D.,

Was born and educated in Germany. He became a citizen of Cincinnati about 1848. He soon acquired a large practice among the best citizens, which clung to him under the most severe trials. No one could retain a firmer hold upon his patrons than did Dr. Bauer.

He died in 1867, lamented by a large number of his fellow citizens. Dr. Bauer was always regarded as the friend to the afflicted poor.

## ISEDORICH ERHMAN, M. D.,

A brother of Dr. Benjamin F. Erhman, was born in Jack-Haussen, Germany, and received his medical education at the University of Quebingin. Soon after receiving his degree in medicine he emigrated to the United States, and arrived at New York in the spring of 1833. His first place of residence was Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Not content with his professional prospects here, he soon afterward removed to Baltimore, Maryland. In 1857 we find him in full and active practice in the city of Buffalo, New York. Upon the encouragement received from his brother, in Cincinnati, he was induced to remove to that city, where he rapidly acquired a large and profitable practice. He is known as one of the oldest homœopathic physicians in the state, and is about seventy-six years of age, hale, hearty and well preserved.

He promises several years of usefulness in the profession.

## GERHARD SAAL, M. D.,

Arrived in this country from Germany about the year 1846. In 1847 we find him practising homœopathy in Springfield, Ohio, from whence, in 1852, he came to Cincinnati and formed a partnership with E. C. Witherell, M. D. He was a highly educated German, and immediately occupied the front rank in the profession in Cincinnati. He assisted in the organization of the Pulte Medical college, and accepted the chair of clinical medicine and hygiene in the college. He died in Cincinnati in the summer of 1873, much lamented by all who had the honor of his personal acquaintance.

## EDWIN C. WITHERELL, M. D.,

Late a professor of anatomy in the Western College of Homœopathy in Cleveland, Ohio, removed from Cleveland to Cincinnati in the spring of 1852. He had spent two years in Europe preparing himself for the higher duties of the profession. He was an agreeable, courteous gentleman, and won the respect and confidence of all who knew him. He had a select, and eminently respectable, practice among the most prominent citizens. Dr. Witherell died of cholera in 1866.

D. H. BECKWITH.

## THE BENCH AND THE BAR OF TORONTO.

THE HONORABLE JOHN ELMSLEY, CHIEF-JUSTICE OF UPPER CANADA.

THE Honorable John Elmsley, destined to be a future chief-justice of Upper Canada, was the son and heir of Alexander Elmsley of the parish of Marylebone, Middlesex, England. He was born in 1762, was nephew of the celebrated London publishers, Elmsley & Brother, of the like celebrated comical critic and editor, Peter Elmsley of Oxford.

Mr. John Elmsley, as I suppose I must call him, before elevated to the dignity of a chief-justice, was called to the bar of England, at the Middle Temple, on the seventh of May, 1790. He had been at the bar only six years and six months, or about that time, when he received his majesty's letters patent appointing him his chief-justice of Upper Canada, to succeed the Honorable William Osgoode, who had been promoted from the chief-justiceship of Upper Canada to the chief-judiciary of Lower Canada. The king's patent appointing Mr. Elmsley was dated the twenty-first day of November, 1796. The London publisher, of whom I have spoken, was a friend of the duke of Portland, and it is said that Mr. Elmsley owed his appointment to the bench to the patronage of the duke. The chief-justice first took his seat as chief-justice at the court house, New-

ark, on the sixteenth of January, 1797. It may be interesting, as well as instructive, to give the ceremony of the inauguration of the chief-justice into his new office. The tendency of the present day is to do away with form and ceremonies, but then it must be remembered that we live in a democratic age. It was not so at the period of the chief-justice's appointment; indeed, if there was one thing more than another aimed at at that day, it was the preservation of kingly dignity, and following on that the dignity of the judges who administered the laws of the state. In the 'King's Bench Term Book of Hilary Term 37, George III,' Monday sixteenth of January, 1797, I find this entry:

This day John Elmsley, esq., came into court, produced his majesty's letters patent, dated the twenty-first day of November, 1796, constituting him chief-justice of this province, took the oaths of office and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation.

The reporter adds an *N. B.* as follows:

The ceremony on this occasion was as follows: The chief-justice, preceded by his marshal and attended by the officers, civil and military, of the province, entered the court and ascended the step of the bench at the left end. He then produced his patent and delivered it (in the absence of Mr. Justice Powell) to the clerk of the crown, informing him of the nature of it and desiring him to read it. Silence having been proclaimed by the crier, the patent was



read, all persons standing and uncovered. The clerk of the crown having read the patent, returned it to the chief-justice, who then took the usual oaths and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation, the chief-justice reading the oaths from a roll and the clerk holding the book to him, after which the chief-justice advanced to the middle of the bench and, bowing to the bar, the officers of the court and the persons who had accompanied him to the court, covered himself and took his seat. The attorney-general then rose and moved that the clerk of the crown might make the entry on the records of the court that his honor had taken the several oaths and subscribed the declaration of law required, to which the chief-justice assented. The chief-justice then informed the clerk of the crown that he had appointed Mr. Alexander McNabb to be marshal to the chief-justice and to that court, and directed him to administer his oath of office, which was done accordingly, and the new marshal took his seat in front of the court, between the attorney-general and solicitor-general.

The reader, after perusal of this notice of ceremonial, if not exhausted in the reading, must of force admit that Canada truly had a royal judicial beginning. The only ceremonial of the present day at all equal to this is the nobility of gait and mien exhibited by "Black Rod" on occasion of the meeting of parliament at Ottawa.

Let us not, however, make light of the precedent. Was it not always the case in the olden times that forms of law were a principle feature in the administration of justice? The more modern doctrine is that forms must give way to substance. Hence in the administration of justice, as in other matters, we have more the reality of things than of obsolete forms and worn-out precedents. Equality and justice have taken the place of the strict and technical reading of the bond. Shylock may take his pound of flesh, but if he do that,

justice, which tempers the law, will overtake him. The dodger may lose his ducats, the "*Equitas sequitur legem*" doctrine is pretty well exploded.

But to return to the chief-justice. We find that he presided in full term in T. 37 George III, seventeenth July, 1797, and that Mr. Gray (afterwards solicitor-general) moved several rules that term. He also presided in M. T. 37 George III, eighth March, 1797, in H. T., 38 George III, first January, 1798. E. T. 38 George III, second April, 1798, and T. T. 38 George III, second July, 1798.

So far as I can make out from the records, he first presided at the criminal court of oyer and terminer in the province at the court holden for the Midland district at Kingston, on the eleventh September, 1797, at which court Richard Cartwright was one of the associate justices. He continued in the performance of his official duty as chief-justice to hold criminal courts of oyer and terminer in the various judicial districts of the province, at Newark, York, Kingston, Cornwall and Johnstown once a year, down to the court for the Home district, held at York on the fourteenth of February, 1801. During this period he had as grand jurors well known men, men prominent in their day, and without naming all I might mention some whose descendants still live in the province: At the court of New Johnstown, on the nineteenth of September, 1797, Ephraim Jones and Edward Jessup; at Newark, the court for the Home district, on the twenty-second January, 1798, Andrew Heron, Mr. Crooks, George Law, Peter Ball and Joseph Clement. The grand

jurors of these days were prominent inhabitants of the county and were summoned by the sheriff, who generally took care to summon men of intelligence having real estate in the county.

In Chief-justice Elmsley's time the practice of branding and pillorying had not yet gone out. I find that at the court held by him at New Johnstown on the eleventh of September, 1798, a prisoner convicted of perjury was sentenced to be pilloried three times and imprisoned six months; and at the court held by him at York, on the fourteenth of November, 1798, one prisoner convicted was sentenced to be "publicly whipped," and another to be "burned in the hand." Transportation was also a sometime sentence in those days. The record of this court holden at York on the twenty-sixth of November 1798, states, in the case of three prisoners brought up for sentence, "The attorney-general moved that they may be permitted to transport themselves"—not to be transported, but to transport *themselves*. This reminds one of Gratiano's advice to the Jew, "Beg, that thou mayest have leave to hang thyself."

The chief-justice while residing in York took much interest in the material progress of the place. He acquired a large property above the McAulay property on Yonge street. His inclination as well as his interest induced him to be one of the principal promoters of the opening of Yonge street. Dr. Scadding, in his 'Toronto of Old,' acquaints us with the fact that in 1800 the chief-justice presided at a public meeting to consider the best means

of opening the road to Yonge street, and that he was a subscriber to the fund raised for that purpose. Government house, at the corner of King and Simcoe streets, in Toronto, was formerly the property of Chief-Justice Elmsley. It is a matter of history that when the Americans attacked York in 1813 the magazine at the fort exploded. The government house at that day was near the magazine; on the restoration of peace the chief-justice's private house, at the corner of King and Simcoe streets, was purchased and converted into government house. It has ever since, for the most part of the time, been occupied for the same purpose—the governors and lieutenant-governors there dispensing the hospitality suitable to their station. The governor's residence has more than once been added to and improved. There seems to be a disposition on the part of those who have the control of the vice-regal mansion to preserve in its surroundings some of its antiquity. A board fence bearing the impress of age shuts out from public view the grounds which the province devotes to the dignity and respect of their governor. In the old times the sentry paced his lonely round to protect the gubernatorial mansion, the fence seems to be thought the necessary substitute—it is doubtful if the public thinks either the one or the other a necessity of the time.

I make my excuse for the digression in the desire I have to remind the reader of the old land marks of the city, especially as, after its purchase, it was still styled "Elmsley house."

Captain the Hon. John Elmsley of Toronto was son of the chief-justice; in his younger days he was a lieutenant in the royal navy and never lost his love for the water. At a time when skillful seamen were required for the lake steamer plying between Toronto and Kingston, and the St. Lawrence, the captainship of the steamer *Sovereign* was committed to the salt water sailor, Captain Elmsley; indeed his title of captain was acquired from his having charge of lake craft; he was a skillful and popular captain; I remember on one occasion being a passenger of his on a voyage of his vessel going from Toronto to Kingston. Before daylight of the morning we should have arrived at Kingston, the vessel (the *Sovereign*), in a dense fog, owing to no fault of the mate in charge, ran upon Nine Mile point, nine miles above Kingston. I had on that occasion an opportunity of observing the care and skill of Captain Elmsley in the command of the steamer, extricating her from her dangerous position after a delay of several hours. Before this, in 1839 or 1840, I had an opportunity of knowing him in another capacity. At that time I was pursuing my studies with his brother-in-law, the Hon. George Sherwood of Brockville, when one day there appeared a stranger in the place. The good people of Brockville wondered who he might be. He was a man of manly bearing and it is said much resembled his father, the chief-justice. It was not given to the people of Brockville to know as much of him on that occasion as was afforded to the writer. He had come there to augment his then dawning wealth by the accession to it of soldiers' claims. There were in the vicinity of Brockville a number of militia who had, as a reward for their services in the War of 1812, been granted scrip entitling them to claim land from the government. Captain Elmsley foresaw that the ownership of these claims might be turned to good account, and so he was bent on acquiring them. Soldiers, even though militiamen, and sailors are never very provident, and they could be had at a large discount of their real value. "Now's the day and now's the hour," see approach the Elmsley power. He came, he saw, he conquered. He procured assignment of many claims. I accompanied him on his expedition to witness the transfer. These claims were the foundation of his wealth as a large landed proprietor. I have been told by those who knew the chief-justice, that Captain John Elmsley in a large degree, to use a common expression, took after his father, the chief. If this be so, from my acquaintance of Captain Elmsley, acquired on the occasions I refer to, I can say that the chief-justice must have been a man of goodly presence, great acquirements and nobility of character. Captain John Elmsley did not follow in the footsteps of his father in the matter of faith and religion. The chief-justice was a staunch Protestant and member of the Church of England. He was one of the principal founders of the building of St. James' church, sometimes called the cathedral. Indeed, in old times, during the bishopric of the Right

Reverend John of Toronto, or more commonly known as Bishop Strachan of Toronto, it was always so called. In the year 1833 Captain John Elmsley became a pervert or convert to the Roman Catholic church, though up to that period he had, like his father and mother, been a staunch Protestant. The ostensible cause of his change of faith was the reading of the Roman Catholic bishop of Strasburg's observations on the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel. Mr. Elmsley satisfied his own mind and published a pamphlet which he circulated through the province gratis, giving the reason for his change of faith. The bishop, then Arch-deacon Strachan, felt it his duty to remonstrate with his old parishioner, and adopted the like means of refuting the doctrine of transubstantiation, which had become a matter of faith with Captain Elmsley. The archdeacon published in, or rather had published at the *Courier* office (published by G. P. Bull in Toronto), in 1834, a pamphlet addressed to the congregation of St. James church, in which, in a very able manner, he answered and endeavored to remove the doubts or confirmed opinion of Captain Elmsley in regard to the question which had agitated Mr. Elmsley. Indeed, I by accident picked up this pamphlet one day in a book stall of the city. I prize it as a relic of the past and remembrancer of the controversy.

In order to show the spirit in which this controversy was conducted, and the spirit that animated the good archdeacon, I will quote but one passage in

his deliverance. The archdeacon wrote in 1833, thus :

The members of the Roman and English Catholic churches, both clergy and laity, have always lived on the most friendly terms in Upper Canada, and I trust will continue to do so. A regard for the tranquillity of their flocks and the variety and extent of their duties appeared to dictate this line of conduct to the clergy ; and their situation has hitherto afforded them little leisure or convenience for polemical discussion. But new converts, anxious to spread the strange light that has burst upon them, are not easily restrained within the limits of a prudent discretion, and therefore Mr. Elmsley thought it necessary, as it would appear, even before his final conversion, to labor for the conversion of others, by publishing an English translation of the bishop of Strasburg's commentary on the sixth chapter of St. John.

I quote the passage merely to show that, with a difference of opinion and independent thought, there may be coupled that tolerance and charity which "vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up." I would not have referred to this matter at all were it not that the secession of Captain Elmsley from the English church at the time caused much pain to the archdeacon and no little scandal to the church ; and going back to the chief-justice, his inauguration and declaration against transubstantiation, the matter is one, in some degree, akin to the subject at hand.

Captain Elmsley, notwithstanding his secession from his mother church, continued in well-doing, in acts of charity and benevolence. Many a poor citizen, some now living, had reason to acknowledge assistance from his bounty, and the Roman Catholic church profited largely by his benefactions.

I must pass on, as it were, changing the



venue from the province of Upper Canada to that of Lower Canada. The chief-justice had performed his duties so much to the satisfaction of his royal master, that on the resignation of Chief-justice Osgoode he was appointed to succeed him in the chief-justiceship of Lower Canada, on the thirteenth of October, 1802. I have before me a copy of the letter of the colonial minister, Lord Hobart, to Lieutenant-general Hunter, informing him of the appointment or proposed appointment of Mr. Elmsley to the chief-justiceship of Lower Canada. The letter is dated Downing street, thirty-first of May, 1802, and reads as follows :

SIR : The office of chief-justice of Lower Canada having become vacant by the resignation of Mr. Osgoode, in fixing on a person properly qualified to succeed him, the character and merits of Mr. Elmsley, who has discharged with so much credit to himself the duties of a similar appointment within your government, could not fail to point him out to his majesty as in every respect worthy of his choice.

In his new office of chief-justice of Lower Canada, Chief-justice Elmsley was conspicuous for his fidelity and zeal in the public service. In 1804 he was appointed to the speakership of the legislative council of that province. The system then prevailing in the province of Lower Canada, under which the chief-justice was appointed member of the legislative council by the crown, and was sometimes, if not always, a member of the executive council, also appointed thereto by the crown, was a vicious one ; but then it is to be said that this was long before the visit of Lord Durham to Canada, and where the true principles of responsible government, as

it had obtained in England, did not prevail in Canada. A chief-justice who to his judicial duties has super-added political duties, such as those of legislative or executive councilor, is apt to have motives imputed to him which mar his usefulness as an independent judge. This was especially the case in Lower Canada, where a vast majority of the people were French and the officials of government English. Even so impartial and excellent a judge as the first Chief-justice Osgoode was not able to escape the friction occasioned by such a state of affairs. Sir Robert Shore Milnes was lieutenant-governor of the province during the chief-justiceship of Osgoode, as well as of Elmsley. Sir Robert Shore Milnes was a military man, very much given to governing by military rule. In 1801 serious differences took place between him and Chief-justice Osgoode. The chief-justice had preferred charges against another judge—Judge DeBonne—which the chief-justice thought called for his dismissal. The governor took it upon himself to shield Judge DeBonne. There can be no doubt that the complaint of Chief-justice Osgoode, as to the performance of Judge DeBonne's judicial duties, were well founded. In a despatch from Sir R. S. Milnes to the duke of Portland, on the twentieth of March, 1801, he sought to bring the chief-justice into disfavor with the home government and attempted to excuse DeBonne. In this despatch he wrote :

Since the representation I made to Mr. DeBonne, respecting his non-attendance in the courts, he has been constant in his duty, and at the opening of this

parliament he called upon me to offer his services, and to say that he had no wish but to be considered by me in a favorable light, and to give his support as he uniformly had done to the representative of his majesty in the province.

This despatch itself shows that the governor knew that Judge DeBonne had been remiss in the performance of his duties, that he had made a representation to him on the subject and had received and accepted his apology. The Chief-justice Osgoode in this matter, as in all other matters, was solicitous for the honor and dignity of the crown and its officers, especially its judicial officers. The chief-justice came out of this affair with honor, and, on his resignation, was granted a pension of eight hundred pounds sterling per year. I do not find that the path of Chief-justice Elmsley was crossed by the governor,

though the same governor reigned during his occupancy of office. There is nothing to show that Chief-justice Elmsley was held otherwise than in esteem in Lower Canada.

He had only filled the office there for a period of three years or thereabout when death cut short his earthly career in the month of July, 1805, at Montreal. He was a gentleman of great professional talents and application, as well as the most amiable demeanor. Mr. Morgan informs us that the Quebec *Mercury* said of him, in an obituary notice of his death: "That he was eminently distinguished not less for his private virtues than his public talents."

D. B. READ.

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#### COLONEL CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

COLONEL CHARLES WHITTLESEY, late president of the Western Reserve Historical society, was born in Southington, Connecticut, October 4, 1808. He was the son of Asaph and Vesta (Hart) Whittlesey, who settled in Ohio in 1815. Asaph Whittlesey was a lad of unusual activity and spirits. His constitution was fine, but he was, just before he was of age, severely injured by the falling of a tree. For some time it was thought his back was broken. The accident so impaired him for farm labor that it changed his life. He removed from

Salisbury, Connecticut, to Southington and became a partner with his brother Chester, as a merchant. He married in 1807 Vesta Hart of that place. In the spring of 1813, he started for Tallmadge, Portage county, Ohio, in a four horse wagon, with his wife and two children, one of whom is the subject of this sketch.

War was then in the west, and his neighbors feared they might be the victims of the scalping knife. But the danger was different. In passing the Narrows, between Pittsburgh and Bea-

ver, the wagon ran off a bank and turned completely over on the wife and children. They were rescued and revived, but the accident permanently impaired the health of Mr. Whittlesey.

Mr. Whittlesey was in Tallmadge, justice of the peace from soon after his arrival till near the close of his life, and postmaster from 1814, when the office was first established, to his death. He was again severely injured, but a strong constitution and unflinching will enabled him to accomplish much. He had a store, buying goods in Pittsburgh and bringing them in wagons to Tallmadge; and an ashery; and in 1818 he commenced the manufacture of iron on the Little Cuyahoga, below Middlebury.

The times were hard, tariff reduced, and in 1828 he returned to his farm prematurely old. He died in 1842. Says General Bierce, "His intellect was naturally of a high order, his religious convictions were strong and never yielded to policy or expediency. He was plain in speech, sometimes abrupt. Those who respected him were more numerous than those who loved him. But for his friends, no one had a stronger attachment. His dislikes were not very well concealed or easily removed. In short, he was a man of strong mind, strong feelings, strong prejudices, strong affections and strong attachments, yet the whole was tempered with a strong sense of justice and strong religious feelings." "He had," says the *Ohio Observer*, "a retentive and accurate memory." Colonel Whittlesey's mother received the best advantages which a New England town afforded, and be-

came herself a teacher. She was very happy in correspondence, and fond of writing letters, and she left quite a voluminous diary, which is an excellent example of felicity in composition. His father was brother to Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, a lawyer of Canfield, Ohio, who settled there in 1806. Having some knowledge of military tactics, in 1808 he was ensign of a company and soon after captain. He served in the War of 1812, rose to the rank of brigade major and inspector. He was eight times elected to congress, and long first comptroller in the United States treasury. Elisha Whittlesey had much taste and great knowledge of western history.

Tallmadge was settled in 1808 as a religious colony of New England Congregationalists, by a colony led by Rev. David Bacon, a missionary to the Indians. This affected the society in which the boy lived, and exercised much influence on the morality of the town and the future of its children, one of whom was the Rev. Leonard Bacon. Rev. Timlow's 'History of Southington' says, "Mr. Whittlesey moved to Tallmadge, having become interested in settling a portion of Portage county with Christian families." And that he was a man "of surpassing excellence of character."

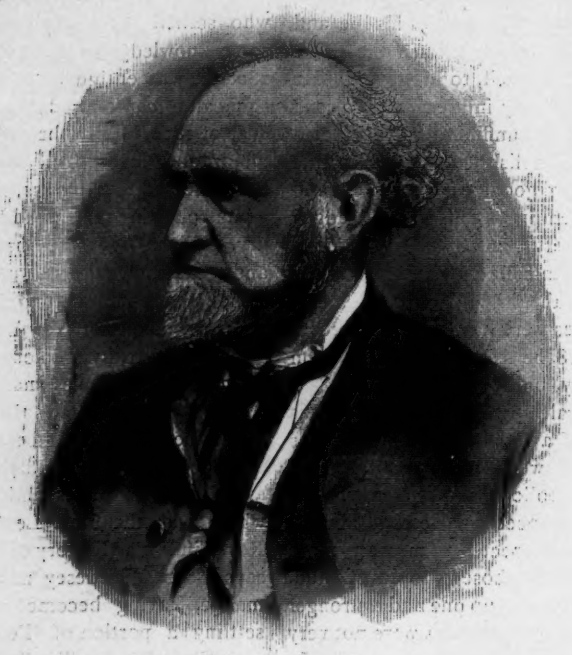
If it should seem that I have dwelt upon the parents of Colonel Whittlesey, it is because his own character and career were strongly affected by their characters and history. Charles, the son, combined the traits of the two. He commenced school at four years old in Southington; the next year he attended

the log school house at Tallmadge until 1819, when the frame academy was finished and he attended it in winter, working on the farm in summer until he was nineteen.

The boy, too, saw early life on foot,

and a large city around him. One of Colonel Whittlesey's happiest speeches is a sketch of log cabin times in Tallmadge, delivered at the semi-centennial there in 1857.

In 1827 the youngster became a cadet



*Chas. Whittlesey*

horseback and with ox-teams. He found the Indians still on the Reserve, and in person witnessed the change from savage life and new settlements, to a state of three millions of people,

at West Point. Here he displayed industry, and in some unusual incidents there, coolness and courage. He graduated in 1831, and became brevet second lieutenant in the Fifth United States



infantry, and in November started to join his regiment at Mackinaw. He did duty through the winter with the garrison at Fort Gratiot. In the spring he was assigned at Green Bay to the company of Captain Martin Scott, so famous as a shot. At the close of the Black Hawk War he resigned from the army. Though recognizing the claim of the country to the services of the graduates of West Point, he tendered his services to the government during the Seminole Mexican war. By a varied experience his life thereafter was given to wide and general uses. He at first opened a law office in Cleveland, Ohio, and was fully occupied in his profession, and as part owner and co-editor of the *Whig and Herald* until the year 1837. He was that year appointed assistant geologist of the state of Ohio. Through very uneconomical economy, the survey was discontinued at the end of two years, when the work was partly done and no final reports had been made. Of course most of the work and its results were lost. Great and permanent good indeed resulted to the material wealth of the state, in disclosing the rich coal and iron deposit of southeastern Ohio, thus laying the foundation for the vast manufacturing industries which have made that portion of the state populous and prosperous. The other gentlemen associated with him were Professor William Mather as principal; Dr. Kirtland was entrusted with natural history. Others were Dr. S. P. Hildreth, Dr. Caleb Briggs, Jr., Professor John Locke and Dr. J. W. Foster. It was an able corps, and the final results would

have been very valuable and accurate. In 1884, Colonel Whittlesey was sole survivor and said in this Magazine: "Fifty years since, geology had barely obtained a standing among the sciences even in Europe. In Ohio it was scarcely recognized. The state at that time was more of a wilderness than a cultivated country, and the survey was in progress little more than two years. It was unexpectedly brought to a close without a final report. No provision was made for the preservation of papers, field notes and maps." Professor Newbury, in a brief resumé of the work of the first survey (report of 1869), says the benefits derived "conclusively demonstrate that the geological survey was a producer and not a consumer, that it added far more than it took from the public treasury and deserved special encouragement and support as a wealth producing agency in our darkest financial hour."

The publication of the first board, "did much," says Professor Newberry "to arrest useless expenditure of money in the search for coal outside of the coal fields and in other mining enterprises equally fallacious, by which, through ignorance of the teachings of geology, parties were constantly led to squander their means." "It is scarcely less important to let our people know what we have not, than what we have, among our mineral resources."

The topographical and mathematical parts of the survey were committed to Colonel Whittlesey. He made partial reports, to be found in the 'State Documents' of 1838 and 1839, but, his knowledge acquired in the survey was of

vastly greater service in many subsequent writings, and, as a foundation for learning, made useful in many business enterprises of Ohio. He had, during this survey, examined and surveyed many ancient works in the state, and, at its close, Mr. Joseph Sullivant, a wealthy gentleman interested in archæology, residing in Columbus, proposed that, he bearing the actual expense, Whittlesey should continue the survey of the works of the Mound Builders, with a view to joint publication. During the years 1839 and 1840, and under the arrangement, he made examination of nearly all the remaining works then discovered, but nothing was done toward their publication. Many of his plans and notes were used by Messrs. Squier & Davis, in 1845 and 1846, in their great work, which was the first volume of the 'Smithsonian Contributions,' and in that work these gentlemen said :

Among the most zealous investigators in the field of American antiquarian research is Charles Whittlesey, esq., of Cleveland, formerly topographical engineer of Ohio. His surveys and observations, carried on for many years and over a wide field, have been both numerous and accurate, and are among the most valuable in all respects of any hitherto made. Although Mr. Whittlesey, in conjunction with Joseph Sullivant, esq., of Columbus, originally contemplated a joint work, in which the results of his investigations should be embodied, he has, nevertheless, with a liberality which will be not less appreciated by the public than by the authors, contributed to this memoir about twenty plans of ancient works, which, with the accompanying explanations and general observations, will be found embodied in the following pages.

It is to be hoped the public may be put in possession of the entire results of Mr. Whittlesey's labor, which could not fail of adding greatly to our stock of knowledge on this interesting subject.

It will be seen that Mr. Whittlesey

was now fairly started, interested and intelligent, in the several fields which he was to make his own. And his very numerous writings may be fairly divided into geology, archæology, history, religion, with an occasional study of topographical geology. A part of Colonel Whittlesey's surveys were published in 1850, as one of the Smithsonian contributions; portions of the plans and minutes were unfortunately lost. Fortunately the finest and largest works surveyed by him were published. Among those in the work of Squier & Davis, were the wonderful extensive works at Newark, and those at Marietta. No one again could see those works extending over areas of twelve and fifteen miles, as he did. Farmers cannot raise crops without plows, and the geography of the works at Newark must still be learned from the work of Colonel Whittlesey.

He made an agricultural survey of Hamilton county in 1844. That year the copper mines of Michigan began to excite enthusiasm. The next year a company was organized in Detroit, of which Colonel Whittlesey was the geologist. In August they launched their boat above the rapids of the Sault St. Marie and coasted along the shore to where is now Marquette. Iron ore was beneath notice, and in truth was no then transportable, and they pulled away for Copper Harbor, and then to the region between Portage lake and Ontonagon, where the Algonquin and Douglas Houghton mines were opened. The party narrowly escaped drowning the night they landed. Dr. Houghton

was drowned the same night not far from them. A very interesting and life-like account of their adventures was published by Colonel Whittlesey in the *National Magazine of New York City*, entitled "Two Months in the Copper Regions." From 1847 to 1851 inclusive, he was employed by the United States in the survey of the country around Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi, in reference to mines and minerals. After that he spent much time in exploring and surveying the mineral district of the Lake Superior basin. The wild life of the woods with a guide and voyageurs threading the streams had great attractions for him and he spent in all fifteen seasons upon Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi, becoming thoroughly familiar with the topography and geological character of that part of the country.

His detailed examination extended along the copper range from the extreme east of Point Keweenaw to Ontonagon, through the Porcupine mountain to the Montreal river, and thence to Long lake in Wisconsin, a distance of two hundred miles. In 1849, 1850 and 1858 he explored the valley of the Menominee river from its mouth to the Brulé. He was the first geologist to explore the South range. The 'Wisconsin Geological Survey' (Vol. 3 pp. 490 and 679) says this range was first observed by him, and that he many years ago drew attention to its promise of merchantable ores which are now extensively developed from the Wauceda to the Commonwealth mines, and for several miles beyond. He examined the north shore

from Fond du Lac east, one hundred miles, the copper range of Minnesota and on the St. Louis river to the bounds of our country. His report was published by the state in 1865, and was stated by Professor Winchill to be the most valuable made.

All his geological work was thorough, and the development of the mineral resources which he examined, and upon which he reported, gave the best proofs of his scientific ability and judgment.

With the important results from his labors in Ohio in mind, the state of Wisconsin secured his services upon the geological survey of that state, carried on in 1858, 1859 and 1860, and terminated only by the war. The Wisconsin survey was resumed by other parties, and the third volume of the 'Report for Northern Wisconsin,' page 58, says:

The only geological examinations of this region, however, previous to those on which the report is based, and deserving the name, were those of Colonel Charles Whittlesey of Cleveland, Ohio. This gentleman was connected with Dr. D. D. Owen's United States geological survey of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, and in this connection examined the Bad River country, in 1848. The results are given in Dr. Owen's final report, published in Washington, in 1852. In 1860 (August to October) Colonel Whittlesey engaged in another geological exploration in Ashland, Bayfield and Douglass counties, as part of the geological survey of Wisconsin, then organized under James Hall. His report, presented to Professor Hall in the ensuing year, was never published, on account of the stoppage of the survey. A suite of specimens, collected by Colonel Whittlesey during these explorations, is at present preserved in the cabinet of the state university at Madison, and it bears testimony to the laborious manner in which that gentleman prosecuted the work. Although the report was never published, he has issued a number of pamphlet publications, giving the main results obtained by him. A list of them, with full extracts from some of them, will be

found in an appendix to the report. In the same appendix I have reproduced a geological map of this region, prepared by Colonel Whittlesey in 1860.

Such was Colonel Whittlesey's employment when the first signs of the civil war appeared. He abandoned it at once. He became a member of one of the military companies that tendered its services to President-elect Lincoln, when he was first threatened, in February, 1861. He became quickly convinced that war was inevitable, and urged the state authorities that Ohio be put at once in preparation for it; and it was partly through his influence that Ohio was so very ready for the fray, in which, at first, the general government relied on the states. Two days after the proclamation of April 15, 1861, he joined the governor's staff as assistant quartermaster-general. He served in the field in West Virginia with the three months' men, as state military engineer; with the Ohio troops, under General McClellan, Cox and Hill. At Seary Run, on the Kanawha, July 17, 1861, he distinguished himself by intrepidity and coolness during a severe engagement, in which his horse was shot under him. At the expiration of the three months' service, he was appointed colonel of the Twentieth regiment, Ohio volunteers, and detailed by General Mitchell as chief engineer of the department of Ohio, where he planned and constructed the defenses of Cincinnati.

In December, 1861, he was ordered to Kentucky with four companies of infantry, to suppress the rebel element in several counties, with headquarters at Warsaw. In the *MAGAZINE OF*

*WESTERN HISTORY* for April, 1885, he gives an interesting account of his experiences there. On the day before Christmas, 1861, loyal citizens from Kentucky represented that several counties in that state were in a condition of anarchy. Kentucky had not then seceded, and Colonel Whittlesey was sent to protect Union citizens, prevent rebel enlistments, secure all their arms, and preserve order. The transports reached Warsaw at nine p. m., and within two hours a number of the most active men sustaining the rebellion were arrested and on their way to Camp Chase. The practice of releasing on taking the oath of allegiance had become a standing joke. Colonel Whittlesey substituted agreements by which they severally agreed, that, in case they threatened or injured the persons or property of Union men, or committed any act in aid of the present rebellion and the southern confederacy, they were to be held summarily responsible in person and property. Sometimes security was required. These agreements were generally kept. His administration there was very successful, and a Kentucky Union legislator said "his course had effected much good for the Union cause," and that "his promptness and decision met with universal praise."

Colonel Whittlesey was in command of his regiment at the taking of Fort Donelson, and was sent north with the prisoners, of whom over ten thousand five hundred were committed to him. The movement on Donelson was made in February, 1862. In 1876 was published a letter from Colonel Whittlesey



to General Halleck, dated November 20, 1861, as follows :

SIR: Will you allow me to suggest the consideration of a great movement by land and water, up the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers.

*First*, Would it not allow of water transportation half way to Nashville?

*Second*, Would it not necessitate the evacuation of Columbus, by threatening their railway communications?

*Third*, Would it not necessitate the retreat of General Buckner, by threatening his railway lines?

*Fourth*, Is it not the most feasible route into Tennessee?

This plan was adopted, and Colonel Whittlesey's regiment took part in its execution.

In April, 1862, on the second day of the battle of Shiloh, Colonel Whittlesey commanded the Third brigade of General Wallace's division—the Twentieth, Fifty-sixth, Seventy-sixth and Seventy-eighth Ohio regiments. "It was against the line of that brigade that General Beauregard attempted to throw the whole weight of his force for a last desperate charge; but he was driven back by the terrible fire, that his men were unable to face." As to his conduct, Senator Sherman said in the United States senate.\* "The official report of General Wallace leaves little to be said. The division commander says, "The firing was grand and terrible. Before us was the Crescent regiment of New Orleans; shelling us on our right was the Washington artillery of Manassas renown, whose last charge was made in front of Colonel Whittlesey's command."

General Force, then lieutenant-colonel under Colonel Whittlesey, fully describes the battle,† and quotes Gen-

eral Wallace. "The nation is indebted to our brigade for the important services rendered, with the small loss it sustained and the manner in which Colonel Whittlesey handled it."

Colonel Whittlesey was fortunate in escaping with his life, for General Force says, it was ascertained that the rebels had been deliberately firing at him, sometimes waiting to get a line shot.

Colonel Whittlesey had for some time been in bad health, and contemplating resignation, but deferring it for a decisive battle. Regarding this battle as virtually closing the campaign in the southwest, and believing the Rebellion to be near its end, he now sent it in.

General Grant endorsed his application, "We cannot afford to lose so good an officer."

"Few officers," it is said, "retired from the army with a cleaner or more satisfactory record, or with greater regret on the part of their associates."

The Twentieth was an early volunteer regiment. The men were citizens of intelligence and character. They reached high discipline without severity, and without that ill-feeling that often existed between men and their officers. There was no emergency in which they could not be relied upon. "Between them and their commander existed a strong mutual regard, which, on their part, was happily expressed by a letter signed by all the non-commissioned officers."

CAMP SHILOH, NEAR PITTSBURGH LANDING, }  
TENNESSEE, April 21, 1862. }

COL. CHAS. WHITTLESEY :

Sir—We deeply regret that you have resigned the command of the Twentieth Ohio. The considerate care evinced for the soldiers in camp, and, above

\* Speech of May 9, 1862.

† *Cincinnati Commercial*, April 9, 1862.

all, the courage, coolness and prudence displayed on the battle-field, have inspired officers and men with the highest esteem for, and most unbounded confidence in our commander.

From what we have seen at Fort Donelson, and at the bloody field near Pittsburgh, on Monday, the seventh, all felt ready to follow you unflinching into any contest and into any post of danger.

While giving expression to our unfeigned sorrow at your departure from us, and assurance of our high regard and esteem for you, and unwavering confidence as our leader, we would follow you with the earnest hope that your future days may be spent in uninterrupted peace and quiet, enjoying the happy reflections and richly earned rewards of well-spent service in the cause of our blessed country in its dark hour of need.

Said Mr. W. H. Searles, who served under him, at the memorial meeting of the Engineers Club of Cleveland: "In the war he was genial and charitable, but had that conscientious devotion to duty characteristic of a West Point soldier."

Since Colonel Whittlesey's decease the following letter was received:

CINCINNATI, November 10, 1886.

DEAR MRS. WHITTLESEY:—Your noble husband has got release from the pains and ills that made life a burden. His active life was a lesson to us how to live. His latter years showed us how to endure. To all of us in the Twentieth Ohio regiment he seemed a father. I do not know any other colonel that was so revered by his regiment. Since the war he has constantly surprised me with his incessant literary and scientific activity. Always his character was an example and an incitement. Very truly yours,

M. F. FORCE.

Colonel Whittlesey now turned his attention at once again to explorations in the Lake Superior and upper Mississippi basins, and "new additions to the mineral wealth of the country were the result of his surveys and researches." His geological papers commencing again in 1863, show his industry and ability.

It happened during his life many times, and will happen again and again, that his labors as an original investigator have borne and will bear fruit long afterwards, and, as the world looks at fruition, of much greater value to others than to himself.

He prognosticated as early as 1848, while on Dr. Owen's survey, that the vast prairies of the northwest would in time be the great wheat region. These views were set forth in a letter requested by Captain Mullen of the Topographical Engineers, who had made a survey for the Northern Pacific railroad, and was read by him in a lecture before the New York Geographical society in the winter of 1863-4.

He examined the prairies between the head of the St. Louis river and Rainy Lake, between the Grand fork of Rainy Lake river and the Mississippi, and between the waters of Cass Lake and those of Red Lake. All were found so level that canals might be made across the summits more easily than several summits already cut in this country.

In 1879 the project attracted attention, and Mr. Seymour, the chief engineer and surveyor of New York, became zealous for it, and in his letters of 1880, to the Chambers of Commerce of Duluth and Buffalo, acknowledged the value of the information supplied by Colonel Whittlesey.

Says the *Detroit Illustrated News*:

A large part of the distance from the navigable waters of Lake Superior to those of Red river, about three hundred and eight miles, is river channel easily utilized by levels and drains or navigable lakes. The lift is about one thousand feet to the Cass Lake summit. At Red river this canal will connect

with the Manitoba system of navigation through Lake Winnipeg and the valleys of the Saskatchewan. Its probable cost is given at less than four millions of dollars, which is below the cost of a railway making the same connections. And it is estimated that a bushel of wheat may be carried from Red river to New York by water for seventeen cents, or about one-third of the cost of transportation by rail.

We approach that part of the life of Colonel Whittlesey which was so valuable to our society. The society was proposed in 1866.\* Colonel Whittlesey's own account of its foundation is: "The society originally comprised about twenty persons, organized in May, 1867, upon the suggestion of C. C. Baldwin, its present secretary. The real work fell upon Colonel Whittlesey, Mr. Goodman and Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Goodman devoting nearly all of his time until 1872 (the date of his death)." The statement is a very modest one on the part of Colonel Whittlesey. All looked to him to lead the movement, and none other could have approached his efficiency or ability as president of the society.

The society seemed as much to him as a child is to a parent, and his affec-

tion for it has been as great. By his learning, constant devotion without compensation from that time to his death, his value as inspiring confidence in the public, his wide acquaintance through the state, he has accomplished a wonderful result, and this society and its collections may well be regarded as his monument.

Mr. J. P. Holloway, in his memorial notice before the Civil Engineer's club, of which Colonel Whittlesey was an honorary member, feelingly and justly said:

Colonel Whittlesey will be best and longest remembered in Cleveland and on the Reserve, for his untiring interest and labors in seeking to rescue from oblivion the pioneer history of this portion of the state, and which culminated in the establishment of the present Western Reserve Historical society, of which for many years he was the presiding officer. It will be remembered by many here, how for years there was little else of the Western Reserve Historical society, except its active, hard working president. But as time moved on, and one by one the pioneers were passing away, there began to be felt an increasing interest in preserving not only the relics of a by-gone generation, but also the records of their trials and struggles, until now we can point with a feeling of pride to the collections of a society which owes its existence and success to a master spirit so recently called away.

The colonel was remarkably successful in collecting the library, in which he interested with excellent pecuniary purpose the late Mr. Case. He commenced the collection of a permanent fund which is now over ten thousand dollars. It had reached that amount when its increase was at once stopped by the panic of 1873, and while it was growing most rapidly. The permanent rooms, the large and very valuable museum, are all due in greatest measure

\*The society was organized under the auspices of the Cleveland Library Association (now Case Library). The plan occurred to the writer while vice-president of that association. At the annual meeting in 1867, the necessary changes were made in the constitution, and Colonel Whittlesey was elected to the Case Library board for the purpose of heading the historical committee and movement. The result appears in a scarce pamphlet issued in 1867 by the library association, containing, among other things, an account of the formation of the society and an address by Colonel Whittlesey, which is an interesting sketch of the successive literary and library societies of Cleveland, of which the first was in 1811.

to the colonel's intelligent influence and devotion.

I well remember the interest with which he received the plan; the instant devotion to it, the zeal with which at once and before the society was started, he began the preparation of his valuable book, 'The Early History of Cleveland,' published during the year.

Colonel Whittlesey was author of—I had almost said most, and I may with no dissent say—the most valuable publications of the society. His own very wide reputation as an archæologist and historian also redounded to its credit. But his most valuable work was not the most showy, and consisted in the constant and indefatigable zeal he had from 1867 to 1886, in its prosperity. These were twenty years when the welfare of the society was at all times his business and never off his mind. During the last few years Colonel Whittlesey has been confined to his home by rheumatism and other disorders, the seeds of which were contracted years before in his exposed life on Lake Superior, and he has not been at the rooms for years. He proposed some years since to resign, but the whole society would have felt that the fitness of things was over had the resignation been accepted. Many citizens of Cleveland recall that if Colonel Whittlesey could no longer travel about the city he could write. And it was fortunate that he could. He took great pleasure in reading and writing, and spent much of his time in his work, which continued when he was in a condition in which most men would have surrendered to suffering.

Colonel Whittlesey did not yet regard his labors as finished. During the last few years of his life religion, and the attitude and relation of science to it, engaged much of his thought, and he not unfrequently contributed an editorial or other article to some newspaper on the subject. Lately these had taken more systematic shape, and as late as the latter part of September, and within thirty days of his death, he closed a series of articles which were published in the *Evangelical Messenger* on "Theism and Atheism in Science." These able articles were more systematic and complete than his previous writings on the subject, and we learn from the *Messenger* that they will be published in book form. The paper says:

Colonel Charles Whittlesey of this city, known to our readers as the author of an able series of articles on "Theism and Atheism in Science" just concluded, has fallen asleep in Jesus. One who knew the venerable man and loved him for his genuine worth said to us that "his last work on earth was the preparation of these articles . . . which to him was a labor of love and done for Christ's sake."

Colonel Whittlesey said when the last was done that his work was finished. He was then in such a condition that he wrote only while in bed and on his back. On Sunday morning, October 17, 1886, he was seized with a chill. He seemed to recover somewhat and appeared no weaker than he had often been within the last few years, but in the morning of the next day he died at the early hour of five. The writer saw him last on Sunday afternoon, when he spoke as fondly, as anxiously and as thoughtfully of the society as ever, though his mind quickly wandered



Colonel Whittlesey was married October 4, 1858, to Mrs. Mary E. (Lyon) Morgan\* of Oswego, New York, who survives him; they had no children.

Colonel Whittlesey's published literary works were very numerous, commencing in 1833, and ending with his death, fifty-three years afterward. There were four quartos among the "Smithsonian Contributions." Several appear in the various state and United States geological reports. A collected volume of 'Fugitive Essays' was published in 1855, a 'History of Cleveland' in 1867. Quite a number appear among the publications of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Colonel Whittlesey was so engaged in what was new, that it was only a few years ago and at my suggestion that he undertook a list. The list herewith is larger than his, and the number of books and pamphlets is one hundred and ninety-one. Many of these are double column and small print, but containing much and new information. He cared little for large print or good paper. He furnished a great many articles to the newspapers, often as editorials, many of which may be found in the rooms of our society. Colonel

Whittlesey was fortunate in simple tastes and happy life, but without fault on his part often unfortunate. We have seen how his work in the Ohio survey of 1837-8 was cut short; how, what would have been the great and leading work on the archæology of Ohio was lost, how other surveys and enterprises in which he was engaged were stopped by the war, or otherwise by no fault of his. Prior to 1869 he was pressing zealously, in this state, the project of a geological survey, and when the bill was finally passed, he fondly hoped to be chief of the survey in his own state. Another was appointed to the first place, and he was unwilling to accept the post of assistant geologist.

Much of his work does not therefore appear in that complete and systematic shape which would make it best known to the general public. But by scholars in his lines of study in Europe and America, he was well known and very highly respected. "His contributions to literature," said the *New York Herald*,† "have attracted wide attention among the scientific men of Europe and America.

As an American archæologist, Colonel Whittlesey was very learned and thorough. He had in Ohio the advantage of surveying its wonderful works at an early date. He had, too, that cool poise and self-possession that prevented his enthusiasm from coloring his judgment. He completely avoided errors into which a large share of archæologists fall. The scanty information as to

\*Mary E. Lyon was a daughter of James Lyon of Oswego, and sister of John E. Lyon, now of Oswego but years ago a prominent citizen of Cleveland. She m. first Colonel Theophilus Morgan,<sup>6</sup> Theophilus,<sup>5</sup> Theophilus,<sup>4</sup> Theophilus,<sup>3</sup> John,<sup>2</sup> James Morgan.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Morgan was an honored citizen of Oswego. Colonel Morgan and his wife Mary, had a son James Sherman, a very promising young man, killed in 1864 in a desperate cavalry charge in which he was lieutenant, in Sherman's march to the sea. Mrs. Whittlesey survives in Cleveland.

†October, 19, 1886.

the past and its romantic interest, lead to easy but dangerous theories, and even suffers the practice of many impositions. He was of late years of great service in exposing frauds, and thereby helped the science to a healthy tone. It may be well enough to say that in one of his tracts he exposed, on what was apparently the best evidence, the supposed falsity of the Cincinnati tablet so called. Its authenticity was defended by Mr. Robert Clarke of Cincinnati, successfully and convincingly, to Colonel Whittlesey himself. I was with the colonel when he first heard of the successful defense and with a mutual friend who thought he might be chagrined, but he was so much more interested in the truth for its own sake, than in his relations to it, that he appeared much pleased with the result.

Among American writers, Mr. Short speaks of his investigations as of "greater value, due to the eminence of the antiquarian who writes them." Hon. John D. Baldwin says, "in this Ancient America speaks of Colonel Whittlesey as one of the best authorities." The learned Frenchman, Marquis de Nadaillac and writers generally upon such subjects quote his information and conclusions with that high and safe confidence in his learning and sound views which is the best tribute to Colonel Whittlesey, and at the same time a great help to the authors. And no one could write with any fulness on the archæology of America without using liberally the work of Colonel Whittlesey, as will appear in any book on the subject. He was an extensive, original investigator, always

observing, thoughtful and safe, and in some branches, as in "Ancient Mining at Lake Superior," his work has been the substantial basis of present learning. It is noticeable that the most eminent gentlemen have best appreciated his safe and varied learning. Colonel Whittlesey was early in the geological field. Fifty years ago little was known of paleontology, and Colonel Whittlesey cared little for it, perhaps too little; but in economic geology, in his knowledge of Ohio, its surface, its strata, its iron, its coal and its limestone; in his knowledge of the copper and iron of the northwest, he excelled indeed. From that date to his death he studied intelligently these sections. As Professor Lapham said he was studying Wisconsin, so did Colonel Whittlesey give himself to Ohio, its mines and its miners, its manufactures, dealings in coal and iron, its history, archæology, its religion and its morals. Nearly all his articles contributed to magazines were to western magazines, and anyone who undertook a literary enterprise in the state of Ohio that promised value was sure to have his aid.\*

In geology his services were great. The New York *Herald*, already cited, speaks of his help toward opening coal mines in Ohio and adds, "he was largely instrumental in discovering and causing the development of the great iron and copper regions of Lake Superior." Twenty-six years ago he discovered a now famous range of iron ore.

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\*The *Hesperian*, *American Pioneer*, the *Western Literary Journal and Review of Cincinnati*, the *Democratic Review* and *Ohio Cultivator of Columbus*, and later the *Magazine of Western History at Cleveland*, all received his hearty support.

"On the Mound Builders and on the geological character and phenomena of the region of the lakes and the northwest he was quoted extensively as an authority in most of the standard geological and anthropological works of America and Europe," truthfully says the 'Biographical Cyclopaedia.'

Colonel Whittlesey was as zealous in helping to preserve new and original material for history as for science. In 1869 he pushed with energy the investigation, examination and measures which resulted in the purchase by the State of Ohio of the St. Clair papers so admirably, fully and ably edited by Mr. William Henry Smith, and in 1882 published in two large and handsome volumes by Messrs. Robert Clarke and Co. of Cincinnati.

Colonel Whittlesey was very prominent in the project which ended in the publication of the Margry papers in Paris. Their value may be gathered from the writing of Mr. Parkman (*La Salle*) and 'The Narrative and Critical History of America,' Volume IV., where on page 242 is an account of their publication.\* In 1870 and 1871 an effort to enlist congress failed. The Boston fire defeated the efforts of Mr. Parkman to have them published in that city. Colonel Whittlesey originated the plan eventually adopted, by which congress voted ten thousand dollars as a subscription for five hundred copies, and, as says our history: "at last by

Mr. Parkman's assiduous labors in the east, and by those of Colonel Whittlesey, Mr. O. H. Marshall and others in the west," the bill was passed.

The late President Garfield, an active member of our society, took a lively interest in the matter, and instigated by Colonel Whittlesey used his strong influence in its favor. Mr. Margry has felt and expressed a very warm feeling for Colonel Whittlesey for his interest and efforts, and since the colonel's death, and in ignorance of it, has written him a characteristic letter to announce to the colonel, first of any in America, the completion of the work. A copy of the letter follows:

PARIS, November 4, 1886.

VERY DEAR AND HONORED SIR: It is to-day in France, St. Charles' day, the holiday I wished when I had friends so called. I thought it suitable to send you to-day the good news to continue celebrating as of old. You will now be the first in America to whom I write it. I have just given the check to be drawn, for the last leaves of the work, of which your portrait may show a volume under your arm.\* Therefore there is no more but stitching to be done to send the book on its way.

In telling you this I will not forget to tell you that I well remembered the part you took in that publication as new, as glorious for the origin of your state, and for which you can congratulate yourself, in thanking you I have but one regret, that Mr. Marshall can not have the same pleasure. I hope that your health as well as that of Madame Whittlesey is satisfactory. I would be happy to hear so. For me if I am in good health it is only by the intervention of providence. However, I have lost much strength, though I do not show it. We must try to seem well.

Receive, dear and honored sir, and for Madame, the assurance of my profound respect and attachment.

PIERRE MARGRY.

\*These papers were also described in an extract from a congressional speech of the late President Garfield. The extract is in Tract No. 20 of the Historical society.

\*Alluding to a photograph of Colonel Whittlesey then with a book under his arm.

Colonel Whittlesey views of the lives of others were affected by his own. Devoted to extending human learning, with little thought of self interest, he was perhaps a little too impatient with others, whose lives had other ends deemed by them more practical. Yet after all, the colonel's life was a real one, and his pursuits the best as being nearer to nature and far removed from the adventitious circumstances of what is ordinarily called polite life.

He impressed his associates as being full of learning, not from books, but nevertheless of all around—the roads the fields, the waters, the sky, men animals or plants. Charming it was to be with him in excursions; that was really life and elevated the mind and heart.

He was a profoundly religious man, never ostentatiously so, but to him religion and science were twin and inseparable companions. They were in his life and thought, and he wished to and did live to express in print his sense that the God of science was the God of religion, and that the Maker had not lost power over the thing made.

He rounded and finished his character as he finished his life, by joint and hearty affection and service to the two joint instruments of God's revelation, for so he regarded them. Rev. Dr. Hayden testifies: "He had no patience with materialism, but in his mature strength of mind had harmonized the facts of science with the truths of religion.

Colonel Whittlesey's life was plain, regular and simple. During the last few years he suffered much from catarrhal headache, rheumatism and kindred other troubles, and it was difficult for him to get around even with crutches. This was attributed to the exposure he had suffered for the fifteen years he had been exposed in the Lake Superior region, and his long life and preservation of a clear mind was no doubt due to his simple habits. With considerable bodily suffering, his mind was on the alert, and he seemed to have after all considerable happiness, and, to quote Dr. Hayden, he could say with Byrd, "thy mind to me a kingdom is."

Colonel Whittlesey was an original member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, an old and valued member of the American Antiquarian society, an honorary member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical society, with headquarters at Columbus. He was trustee of the former State Archæological society (making the archæological exhibition at the Centennial), and although each of these is necessarily to some extent a rival of his pet society, he took a warm interest in the welfare of each.

He was a member of the Society of Americanites of France, and his judgment, learning and communications were much esteemed by the French members of that society. Of how many other societies he was an honorary or other member I can not tell.

C. C. BALDWIN.







Negative of Western History

Very Truly Yours  
David Atwood

## GENERAL DAVID ATWOOD.

THE conscientiously-edited newspaper is the most convenient as well as one of the most trustworthy sources of historical information. Its editorials, its news departments, its pages devoted to current literature and miscellany, even its advertising columns, form a complex and enduring mirror of the thoughts and customs of cotemporaneous generations of mankind, the best phases of whose reflections will be the more readily traced as the dust of ages obscures all other memorials. The introduction of the earliest form of public news-letter was a blessing to the historian. In all stages of the development of the enterprise, the labor of historical fact-gathering has been simplified in a ratio corresponding to the advance made in the scope and character of the press. The meager little folios of our Revolutionary epoch, contemptuously as their counterparts would be received by the newspaper reader of to-day, are a mine of wealth to writers on American history topics, who are but beginning to appreciate their practical worth. Bound files of these weekly and semi-monthly news-letters, time-stained, worm-eaten and pale, are to-day valued at almost their weight in gold by collectors of the annals of that period. Quaint, unconsciously-written expressions in the brief editorial paragraphs, the news columns, and particularly the advertisements, throw extremely inter-

esting and valuable side-lights on the character, habits and opinions of our ancestors, giving life and tone to the historical picture. If these apparently lifeless apologies for newspapers can be thus profitably utilized by the historian of the present, who discovers in them a value which their subscribers surely never found, what untold wealth of fact and cotemporaneous portraiture is being stored up for future Bancrofts in the portly newspaper files of to-day! In most of the western states, newspapers were among the earliest enterprises in the village settlements, and where files of such journals have been carefully preserved from the outset, as has been done for Wisconsin by its State Historical society, annalists find their work much facilitated, while the value of these early papers will become more apparent when the present rapidly vanishing circle of living witnesses of pioneer events has at last faded away.

The pioneer editors were a class unto themselves. Just as to-day there is no frontier, no backwoods, so there is no more pioneer journalism. Rapid transit is now so universal, rival lines of railroad and telegraph so soon push out to any point of settlement worth the effort, that few villages in the United States are stationed more than a half-day's easy wagon ride from some trunk-road station, which has quick connection with the

centres of civilization. Thus the backwoods, and the conditions of life under which the pioneer therein lived, have passed into tradition. And the pioneer journal, too, is to-day a curious and instructive relic. There are no pioneer journals now, outside of historical libraries. The smallest newspaper published to-day, in the furthestmost American settlement, is in easy communication with the rest of the world, by rail and wire. If the sheet has any standing at all, it receives the President's message the day it is delivered; it contains at least a mention of the most startling news of the world as soon as the details are received in New York; the day's markets in the large commercial cities are spread before its readers, and the section, state and village are reasonably well "covered" when the little folio goes to press. No American editor to-day can get so far away from civilization as to experience a tithe of the difficulties under which the pioneer journalists labored. But those difficulties sharpened the wits of the backwoods craftsmen. Hampered by the lack of proper mechanical appliances; with transit so slow that the New York papers, containing all the news outside of the state, were often two or three weeks on the road; battling with political factions, in a day when partisanship ran high and journalism had a decidedly personal flavor; with business rivalry often bitter and sometimes not over-scrupulous—the pioneer editors had need to be men with their eyes open, if they would successfully survive it all. It was clearly an illustration of the survival of the fittest. The best of them

were, from the first, conspicuous in the development of their adopted territories and states, winning more or less renown as the conditions chanced to shape themselves—men of high character and good judgment, holding their own well with members of the learned professions, while indeed the latter obtained some of their brightest recruits from the ranks of active pioneer journalism.

In the natural course of events but few of these early newspaper editors yet remain among us. And yet fewer of those still here can point to a continuous service at the desk, reaching back from the highly-developed journals of the present to the crude efforts of frontier publication. Such men have seen much, done much and been much, and it is eminently fitting that the portraits and careers of these stalwart analysts of their day, to whom historians owe so large a debt, should be spread of record upon the pages of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

General David Atwood, proprietor and editor-in-chief of the *Wisconsin State Journal*, of Madison, was one of the earliest, as he has ever been one of the most prominent, of the Badger state journalists, and to-day is — with the single exception of William E. Cramer, of the *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*, who had some two or three months' start of the general—the oldest active member of the Wisconsin press who has been in uninterrupted service from the first. The head of one of the leading newspapers of the commonwealth, he has done much in practically moulding the policy and politics of his state, and



has held numerous high positions of honor and trust within it. The salient points in his busy and useful career are well worth the relation, for they convey many a quiet but forcible lesson to young men, showing how important are good training, a sound moral basis, frugality, persistent industry and the love of home, in winning the best fruits of human existence.

The American branch of the Atwood family, to which the subject of this sketch belongs, is traced back to John Atwood, who appears to have arrived on the shores of Massachusetts bay and settled at Plymouth in 1643, where his descendants were domiciled for nearly one hundred and fifty years. A sturdy Presbyterian was old John Atwood, of straight English descent; the stout creed he was born to, his inherited habits of frugality and industry, and the high moral principles in which he was grounded, were qualities which he transmitted to successive generations of his descendants.

Nathaniel, the son of John, was born in 1652; Nathaniel's son John in 1684; Isaac, the son of John, first saw light in 1719, and the latter's son Isaac in 1747. This last Isaac was the grandfather of our subject. Isaac married Hannah Chubbuck, who came to be the great-aunt of Emily Chubbuck—known to literature as "Fanny Forrester," the third wife of the late Adoniram Judson, a celebrated missionary. Hannah and Isaac made the first move from Plymouth, which had so long been the family seat. In 1777, when Isaac was thirty years of age, they left the old

town with their little brood and settled down in Bedford, New Hampshire, which has ever since been the Atwood home. The Atwoods had always been a long-lived people, and Isaac kept up the good record by lasting until the age of eighty-nine years, dying in Bedford in 1836.

Isaac had nine children, among them being David, the father of the veteran whose career we are tracing. David, senior, was born at Bedford, March 24, 1779, his useful but unostentatious life being almost wholly spent in his native town, where he died in 1869, in his ninety-first year, within a mile and a half of his birthplace. On the twenty-first of September, 1802, he had married Mary Bell, who was born in Bedford on the twelfth of April, 1781, being the junior of her husband by two years; she died in October, 1857, in her seventy-seventh year. The Bells were North-of-Ireland people, of the same religious faith as the Atwoods—the first head of the family in America, John Bell, having emigrated from the Green Isle and settled in Bedford in 1736, forty-one years before Isaac Atwood had removed thither from Plymouth. John Bell's son John, born in Ireland in 1732, came over with his father; Joseph, the son of this second John, and the maternal grandfather of our subject, was born in Bedford in 1757; he married Mary Houston on the fourth of June, 1776, just one month before the signing of the Declaration of Independence; their daughter Mary, the mother of General Atwood, was the third child of this union.

David, junior, was the seventh child and fourth son of this Atwood-Bell alliance, there being thus in his veins an amalgamation of Scotch, English and Irish blood. He was born in Bedford, on the fifteenth of December, 1815, and is consequently now in his seventy-second year. The farming town of Bedford, the home of the Atwoods, borders on the Merrimac river, opposite the thriving manufacturing city of Manchester. Agricultural operations in those New Hampshire towns have ever been conducted under great difficulties, and the gaining of the most modest livelihood from the unkind soil of the stony hillside fields has meant patient and persistent toil. Young David's early boyhood was that of the average farmer's lad of the period—doing man's work in the wielding of the hoe, the sickle and the cradle, guiding the plow, and following the harrow, while for dawn and dusk were reserved a multitudinous round of barn and house chores, those most exasperating of rustic duties. Well did the boy in that lot of life grasp the truth of the old couplet, that

“—twixt summer's sun and sun  
The farmer's work is never done.”

In the winter season, the district school took the place of the field work, and very likely to many of the youth the latter was the preferable task. Going to school meant to a goodly proportion of the children long journeys afoot, often the breaking of the roads after a heavy snow fall, with a cold bite out of a pail, for dinner. The curriculum was meager; in bitter weather, the teacher and his

pupils of all ages of verdancy clustered around the great fireplace within which full length sticks were piled, to avoid the thousand drafts which came whistling through disrupted plaster and ill-fitting sash and doors. It was a hard life, whatever phase of it we view, but it made rugged, self-reliant men out of the boys who survived the rough training, and taught them valuable lessons of economy, perseverance and wholesome regard for the rights of others and respect for the aged. New Hampshire is jocularly alleged to be an excellent place to emigrate from. It is certain, however, that no other New England state sends out truer, sounder, more useful, better citizens than she.

The late Horace Greeley for a time attended school in Bedford with David Atwood. Horace was somewhat older than David and left the school and the town before the latter, but they were warm friends from the start and maintained a cordial intimacy throughout Greeley's life. The Greeley family lived across the road from the Atwoods and their farms adjoined. Indeed, the Greeleys were the first neighbors whom David came to know.

Young David was also acquainted, in childhood, with the late Zachariah Chandler, who afterwards, as United States senator from Michigan, acquired national renown. Their fathers were born in the same town and were bosom friends during their entire lives, while young “Zach.” first saw light within two miles of David's birthplace. The boys were classmates in the Presbyterian Sunday-school of the neighborhood,

and used frequently to meet in subsequent years and jovially refresh their recollections of boyhood life in Bedford, to which the lapse of time had in the minds of both lent a poetic glamor.

At the age of sixteen, with only such humble scholastic learning as the Bedford pedagogue could impart, but well grounded in the virtues of integrity and frugality, and in practical views of life, David set out from the old homestead upon a career quite foreign in character to that of his long line of ancestors, who had been tillers of the soil. Naturally a delicate child, his early toil had given him good physical development, so that he went forth well equipped for the prosecution of a life task which came to be attended with many severe demands upon his mental and bodily strength.

David's elder brother, John, had established himself in business at Hamilton, New York, as the junior member of the firm of Treadway & Atwood, printers and publishers of law books. The publication office was in New York City, where the senior member, W. R. H. Treadway, spent the greater part of his time, leaving Atwood in charge of the Hamilton printing office. In 1832, when in his seventeenth year, David went to Hamilton and apprenticed himself to his brother until he should reach his majority. Fifty years ago the "art preservative of all arts" was in a crude condition compared with its present. The power press and the thousand-and-one accessories which are familiar to the printing office of to-day were as yet unknown. The firm turned out, however, what was deemed excellent work

for those times, and at the close of his five years' apprenticeship Mr. Atwood was considered a master book printer, familiar with the trade in all its departments, as it then existed.

On attaining his majority, the young journeyman spent his "freedom day" at the old homestead in Bedford—his first visit to the roof-tree since he had left it, five years before. Traveling was then very slow and expensive, and Bedford and Hamilton were quite as widely separated, so far as the trouble of covering the distance between them was concerned, as Boston and San Francisco are considered to-day. After a brief vacation he returned to Hamilton. Mr. Treadway had died, and John was in straitened circumstances, so that it became necessary to close out the somewhat complicated business of the concern. The chief obstacle was the want of an immediate market for accumulated copies of a work of eight volumes, entitled, *The American Common Law*—a digest of federal and state decisions—which the firm had been engaged in printing just previous to the dissolution.

During the last year of his apprenticeship, David had had some three months' experience in traveling for the house, and upon his return to Hamilton he was engaged to dispose of these books through personal application to members of the western bar. This was no small undertaking, and it took him three years—1837-39—to complete the task. During that time he traveled with a horse and democrat wagon, some ten thousand miles in parallel trips through



the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky, and the District of Columbia, and in much of this wide expanse of territory he was the pioneer introducer of law books. It was long before the day of the modern book agent; there were no railroads west of the Susquehanna; transportation by river and land were exceedingly uncertain, and lawyers in far western communities welcomed the traveling agent of the Hamilton house with open arms, congratulating themselves upon the fact that they had grown to be a community of sufficient importance to warrant a business visitation of this character. The young agent, as a matter of course, suffered much hardship and privation, especially in the extreme west, and oftentimes met with narrow escapes, when storms had blocked the forest roads and bridges were carried away by swollen streams; but in all that time, despite his youth and slender stature, and the well known fact that he was often compelled to carry considerable sums of money on his person, he never once suffered assault or was greeted with a harsh word or threatening glance. Much of the country was then in a state of nature; the small settlements were few and far between, and farm clearings many miles apart; entertainment was crude, but the people were good-hearted; their great distance from the centers of population promoted within them a spirit of fellowship, in their shanty communities nestled down in the midst of the dark forests, or dotted like islands in the horizon-

bounded prairie seas, and the stranger was ever welcome.

General Atwood to this day delights in turning back in memory to those pioneer experiences, of which he had so wide a view, and it is a rare treat to hear him relate incidents of his remarkable wagon journeys—admirable pictures of the times, and illustrating traits in the characters of men whom he then met as young lawyers and editors in the frontier towns, who have since become famous at the bar or in political life. In Indiana, for example, he came to know, in this way, Caleb B. Smith, who was Lincoln's secretary of the interior; Tillman A. Howard, a candidate for United States senator when Mr. Atwood was first in the state; Judge Blackford, then on the supreme bench of the state; Albert S. White, Oliver H. Smith and Godlove S. Orth, who afterwards became distinguished members of congress; besides Jesse D. Bright, who was in later years expelled from the National senate for being a confederate plotter, and scores of others who will always rank prominently in the annals of the Hoosier commonwealth. It was of supreme advantage to the young man to thus become intimately acquainted with this western country, its men and its resources at that early period. He gained an accurate knowledge of pioneer life, and it has been one of the greatest pleasures of his existence to witness the remarkable and rapid development of the vast region from the condition in which he first traversed it.

Mr. Atwood first saw Chicago in 1837. It consisted chiefly of wooden shanties



straggling along a swampy street that was almost impassable, the grade being some ten or twelve feet lower down in the world than Chicago now stands. One of the principal buildings in the place was the New York Hotel, kept by one Jordan, on the corner of Lake and Clark streets, near the site of the present Tremont House. It was a frame structure, two stories high, built on piles, with water a foot deep under it. Illinois was the crudest state in the traveler's circuit. The settlements were mostly in the southern portion, with long stretches of treeless prairie between, the young agent often traversing grassy seas, rich in the varied hues with which nature painted them, that extended a score or two of miles between any signs of human occupation.

Making as many acquaintances and friends as he did, in his novel tour, he frequently saw opportunities for settling down in business for himself, and also received tempting offers to join fortunes with others, but he rejected all advances until his mission was complete. In the summer of 1839 he returned to Hamilton to square his accounts, but had fully determined to settle in Cincinnati, which had been his headquarters for supplies. He had, however, contracted the prevalent frontier disease of fever and ague, and his Hamilton friends prevailed upon him to give up his Ohio project and remain at the scene of his apprenticeship.

In September, 1839, being now twenty-four years of age, he united with his brother John in the publication of the *Hamilton Palladium*, a weekly newspa-

per of the Whig persuasion. In Cincinnati, David had frequently met and conversed with General Harrison, and returned to Hamilton thoroughly imbued with enthusiasm for "Old Tip." He was probably the only person in Madison county who then favored the nomination of Harrison as the Whig candidate for the Presidency; and so persistently did he urge the claims of the hero of Tippecanoe upon his friends, in season and out, that he became no small source of amusement to his elders. When, in December, 1839, Harrison was nominated by the Whigs, greatly to the astonishment of every one in Hamilton but young Atwood, the latter at once acquired the reputation of being a rare political seer, and, though by nature modest and retiring, came into local prominence as "the original Harrison man," and was much in demand at ensuing campaign meetings as a leader in the choral efforts, then an important feature at such gatherings.

During the campaign of 1840, John Atwood was chief of the *Palladium*, David being in charge of the mechanical department, although he occasionally assisted in the literary workshop, and the fervid interest he took in political work added much spice to the editorial columns.

In 1844, when Henry Clay became the Whig standard bearer, David Atwood entered into the campaign, in his advocacy, with a remarkably vigorous enthusiasm. His brother John was often away from home, on other business, for weeks at a time, and David—assisted only by a boy, who worked at the

case and inked forms on the old hand press—edited and published not only the *Palladium*, but a weekly campaign sheet called the *Mill Boy*, thus sending out from the office two Whig papers per week. Both sheets were brimming over with stalwart literature of the Whig variety, and in consequence Clay stock ran high in Madison county. It was the day when "opinions of the press" were counted to be worth something, and the personal influence of a political editor, over a large following of readers, was enormous. The young editor was not only thus engaged, with the widely-varied duties incumbent upon a country publisher, but he so managed as to be able to attend a political meeting somewhere in the county nearly every night, generally leading in the singing, sometimes making an address, but always working with astonishing activity for the cause of his party. General Atwood has ever since been actively engaged in political management, but he looks back to the fruitless Clay campaign as the one in which he made the greatest personal exertions of his life.

It was while thus engaged in conducting the *Palladium* that there from time to time drifted to its editorial room, from an anonymous source, exquisite productions in prose and verse. They were regularly published, and it was not until long after that the fact was discovered that the subsequently famous Emily Chubbuck—"Fanny Forrester"—who was the grandniece of the Atwood brothers' paternal grandmother, and chanced to reside in Hamilton, had

honored the *Palladium* by securing the appearance in its columns of her first literary compositions.

General Atwood began his connection with the citizen soldiery of the country at an early day. In 1841, just after the Harrison campaign, he was appointed adjutant on the staff of Colonel James W. Nye, afterwards United States senator from Nevada, who was then in command of the Sixty-fifth regiment of New York state militia. In 1842 he was promoted to be major of the regiment, his commission as such being signed by Governor William H. Seward and countersigned by General Rufus King, adjutant-general of New York, who subsequently became famous as a general in the Army of the Potomac and as minister to Rome. On Colonel Nye's promotion, Major Atwood succeeded him in office, with a commission signed by Governor Bouck, father of the well-known Colonel Gabe Bouck of Oshkosh, Wisconsin. For two years Colonel Atwood commanded the regiment, and is noted as having introduced many reforms, moral and disciplinary, at the "general trainings," where, heretofore, there had been much boisterous and unmilitary behavior.

The political campaign of 1844 severely taxed the health of Colonel Atwood, and, at its close, physically exhausted, he left Hamilton never expecting to again engage in the printing business. His physician informed him that he was afflicted with consumption, and could not expect to survive the lapse of half a year; but the colonel

knew that he came of a long-lived race, and felt that he was destined to at least an average term of existence.

He withdrew his interest from the *Palladium* office, and, in company with a young Hamilton friend, proceeded by wagon, in February, 1845, to Stephenson county, Illinois, where they purchased a farm of five hundred and fifty acres in the town of Silver Creek. Railroads were still unknown in the west, and Stephenson county was far removed from any considerable settlement. The highest ambition of the Illinois pioneers then, was to be able to sell their wheat at fifty cents per bushel at some market which they could wheel to in a day.

Colonel Atwood soon regained his health in the prosecution of his farm duties, and was able, long before the close of the six months allotted to him, to do a full day's work with as much vigor as in early youth. Having traversed the virgin prairies of Illinois eight years before, and being able to see the progress already made, as well as having had large experience in watching the development of the west in general, he felt assured that the march of civilization toward the setting sun was not going to stop at the Wabash. He, therefore, freely predicted a great future for the Sucker state, with its marvelous agricultural capabilities, and was regarded as a mild lunatic by his neighbors when he alleged that a railroad would some day reach as far west as the Mississippi. As a matter of fact the railway station of Rydott—the first on the Chicago & Northwestern railway east

of Freeport—has for some years past been standing on the old Atwood farm, and eighty acres of the colonel's former possessions are covered with the houses of Rydott village.

In June, 1845, Colonel Atwood, with a few assistants engaged for the purpose, drove a flock of seventeen hundred sheep from central Ohio to his Illinois farm, a journey of about four hundred and fifty miles, walking the entire distance with a knapsack on his back, camping by the wayside and "watching his flocks by night." The sheep, however, proved a failure. Disease destroyed one-half of them during the winter of 1845-6, and the others followed in relays from miscellaneous troubles. It was the beginning in Illinois of the blight of winter wheat, then and afterwards so ruinous to the grain industry. This and other crops utterly failed. Disaster followed disaster with the result that, after two years of farming, the colonel, ruined financially, but restored to his customary physical vigor, went through the formality of disposing of his landed possessions and determined to return to his trade.

The desire had for years been strong within him to establish a newspaper at some state capital, where the political interests of a commonwealth naturally center. The neighboring territory of Wisconsin was then experiencing somewhat of a "boom," and seemed destined to enjoy a brilliant future. It was engaged at the time in seeking entrance to the union of states, and for many reasons public attention the country over was being attracted to the territory in a



marked degree. Madison, its capital, was merely a name to Colonel Atwood, but he nevertheless resolved to go there and try his fortune, confident that the village must surely grow with the commonwealth. With vague notions of his future home, he engaged stage passage from Freeport to Rockford and thence to Madison, with the belief that at the Wisconsin capital he could at least do no worse than at Silver Creek. Among his fellow passengers were Isaac P. Walker, who was elected speaker of the Wisconsin legislature, then about to convene, and who was afterwards a United States senator; the late James Holliday of Milwaukee, then a young man prominent in public affairs, and the late Asa Kinney, a member of the first state constitutional convention.

Although Madison had been settled for ten years, it was still a crude village of but eight hundred inhabitants when Colonel Atwood descended from the Rockford stage at the end of his journey, on the afternoon of Saturday, October 15, 1847. Causing his trunk to be thrown off at the hotel, he immediately set out to find employment, without entering the hostelry. Having but a few dollars in his pocket, it became necessary to at once secure a position where he could at least earn his board. The first printing office he reached was that of the Madison *Express*, conducted by William W. Wyman, whose sons—William H., now of Cincinnati, and well-known as a Shakespearean student, and Albert U., afterwards treasurer of the United States—were employed on the paper as compositors. It chanced

that Mr. Wyman was in need of a man who could edit his paper, report the proceedings of the territorial legislature which was to convene on the succeeding Monday and the constitutional convention which was to first meet on the fifteenth of December following, and act as compositor and foreman in his spare time. Colonel Atwood, who was then but thirty-two years of age, was somewhat taken aback by the variety and scope of the duties required of Mr. Wyman's employé, but his finances were at so low a stage that he felt obliged to take up for the time being with any offer which might be made to him, and at once closed a bargain with the publisher of the *Express* at the munificent salary of six dollars a week, with board and lodgings (then worth two dollars) thrown in. The following day being Sunday, he roamed at will over the beautiful peninsula upon which the Wisconsin capital is located, and became so infatuated with the natural surroundings—the lakes, the virgin forests which skirted them, and the kaleidoscopic landscape of the witching Four Lake country in general—that he firmly resolved to make Madison his permanent abiding place should he be enabled to obtain a reasonably satisfactory foothold there.

The work of that winter was no boy's play for Mr. Wyman's assistant. He accurately reported, not only the doings of the legislature, but the debates and transactions of the important and protracted convention that drafted the constitution which was adopted by the people, and under which Wisconsin be-



came a state in May, 1848. Colonel Atwood was never absent from the sessions of that convention for a moment, and is to-day one of the best informed men in the commonwealth as to its detailed proceedings and the intent of the makers of the admirable instrument therein perfected. He wrote all of the editorials in the *Express*, which was nominally edited by Mr. Wyman, set some of the type on the tri-weekly edition, which was issued during the convention, made up the forms, and in every particular carried out his contract, though often working until after midnight in order to fully meet the pressing demands of the day upon one who was, in an important news epoch, "editor, reporter, foreman, compositor and all hands."

Early in October, 1848, in company with Royal Buck, a son-in-law of Wyman, Colonel Atwood purchased the Madison *Express* establishment from the latter. Atwood & Buck at once changed the name to *The Wisconsin Express*, to give the paper more of a state character; and it appeared on the sixteenth of November following, with a new dress and many reformations in style.

As in many infant settlements then and now, the newspaper business had come to be sadly overdone in Madison. Of the twelve or fifteen papers in the state, three were published at the capital—The *Express* (Whig) representing the minority, having two Democratic papers opposed to it, each of them edited by men of ability, experience and money, with the official state patronage

to back them. The *Express* management had, therefore, to exercise great economy and shrewd business capacity in order to hold its own at all. Here Colonel Atwood's early lessons of frugality and industry came well into play, and he persevered amid the most unfavorable surroundings; for a New Hampshire man, who has learned to cling to his native hillsides, despite the chilling blasts which whistle around them, is generally well able to maintain himself in almost any position.

In the fall of 1851, the Whigs, for whose ascendancy the *Express* had with loyal courage fought against all odds, elected their candidate for governor, L. J. Farwell; but as the legislature and all departments of the government were still in the hands of the opposition, it brought no official patronage to the *Express*. Colonel Atwood's persistent labors in behalf of the party cause, as well as his known experience in military affairs, induced Governor Farwell to appoint him quartermaster-general of the state.

In the spring of 1850, a new Whig paper, *The Statesman*, had appeared to check the growing hopes of the original Whig organ. In June, 1852, a consolidation was effected, with General Atwood as one of the new staff, *The Palladium* (daily) being published for eleven weeks under this arrangement. But the enterprise failed, and out of the wreck the general, single handed, reared the Wisconsin *State Journal* (daily and weekly), issuing his first number on the twenty-eighth of September, 1852. The *State Journal* continued as the only

Whig paper in the place until the organization of the Republican party, since which time it has been the sole champion of the latter at the Wisconsin capital.

A large section of the Whig party in the northern states had for many years shown a strong anti-slavery leaning, and to this branch of the organization General Atwood belonged. In 1852, General Scott received the Whig nomination for the Presidency; but the platform upon which he stood was nearly identical, on the slavery question, with that supporting the Democratic nominee, General Pierce, both parties endeavoring to secure the favor of the south. The adoption of such a platform by the Whigs, was the immediate cause of the overwhelming defeat of Scott, clearly foreshadowing the total disruption of the old Whig party.

The year 1853 brought with it a state campaign. By this time the Free Soil element had grown to be very strong in Wisconsin, and General Atwood, with the *State Journal* at his back, took the lead in advocating the nomination of a People's ticket. This step was taken, thus paving the way for the Republican movement of the following year.

In the spring of 1853, there became associated with General Atwood in the publication of the *State Journal*, Horace Rublee, who was afterwards minister to Switzerland, and is at present the editor-in-chief of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. Mr. Rublee, who was then but twenty-four years of age, soon established for himself the reputation of a man of fine intellect and cultivated talents, and his

editorial writings gave new strength to the *State Journal*, which had by this time become a well-established institution. While General Atwood, with his able assistance, now took to himself the duties of general director of the journal, he continued to labor at the editorial desk, and the columns of his paper have never ceased to contain vigorous political literature from his prolific pen.

The spring of 1854 found the *State Journal* taking decided position favoring the formation of a new party, combining the Free Soilers, Whigs and disaffected Democrats. Throughout the Union a general break-up of parties was in progress. The slavery question had brought about a political crisis; members of the old organizations being divided in individual sentiment regarding the coming issue, there was a yearning for a new order of things, for the drawing of new party lines upon which men could range themselves according to their honest opinions. This movement gave rise to the institution of the Republican party. Claims have been made in behalf of several states for the honor of organizing the first branch of the new party, but the fact is now accepted by unprejudiced historians that the state mass meeting which was held in Madison on the fourteenth of July, 1854, as the result of the People's movement the previous year, first set the Republican party in motion. This famous meeting, which General Atwood labored so zealously to bring about, was held on the east steps of the capitol. There was an enormous throng. The general was a member of the committee on resolutions, and he

and his colleagues presented the platform which was used as a model in all subsequent Republican conventions held that year.

The first Republican legislature was elected in the fall of 1854, and during its session, in the earliest months of 1855, General Atwood served as the chief clerk of the lower house. Later that year he entered with enthusiasm into the first Republican state campaign, when Coles Bashford was the new party's candidate for governor. A very spirited contest was had, the state canvassers declaring the entire Democratic ticket victorious. The vote on governor was close, William A. Barstow, the incumbent of the office, having, on the face of the returns, a plurality of one hundred and fifty-seven for reelection.

The Republican press of the state, the *State Journal* leading in the claim, insisted that fraud had been used and the returns tampered with. Mr. Barstow took the oath of office on the seventh of January, 1856, but was soon met by a writ of *quo warranto* issuing out of the supreme court of the state. A long and excitable legal contest followed, during which party passion rose to a high pitch, and it required the most astute diplomacy to prevent actual bloodshed among opposite factions of the people. Throughout these months of popular disturbance, General Atwood was acknowledged to be the leading spirit among the Republican managers and did much to practically aid the counsel for Bashford in their prosecution of the case before the supreme court. Finally a decision in favor of Bashford was

reached on the twentieth of March, and, after some further opposition on the part of the Democratic lieutenant-governor, A. McArthur, and the Democratic legislature, Bashford was formally recognized as chief executive on the twenty-seventh of March.

In 1858, Mr. Atwood was appointed major-general of the Fifth division of the state militia, by Governor Alexander W. Randall. Governor Randall was afterwards minister to Rome under President Lincoln, and postmaster-general in Johnson's cabinet.

In 1861, General Atwood represented the Madison district in the lower house of the state legislature and performed notable service in securing the enlargement and betterment of the capitol. He was also engaged, this year, in doing very efficient work in the raising and fitting of troops for the front; and in all the leading state enterprises incident to the amassing of funds for the prosecution of the Union cause was an enthusiastic and efficient manager.

In 1862, his reputation for integrity and business sagacity secured him the appointment of United States internal revenue assessor for the second congressional district under the new law. His commission as such was signed by President Lincoln in July of that year. His labors in this important office were of the most arduous character. The law was new to the people, and its inquisitorial methods obnoxious to them, while the income tax, which came afterward, was deemed particularly burdensome. The new assessor had much to do in toning down popular prejudice



and getting affairs upon a working basis in this large and important district. In 1865, when President Johnson assumed office and changed the political front of the administration, the *State Journal*, despite the fact that its chief editor held a government office, held fast to its stalwart political views, never once faltering in opposition to the President's course. In September, 1866, in consequence of this straightforward attitude, the general was removed as "an offensive partisan," being the first Wisconsin officer suspended by Mr. Johnson. He was serenaded at his home on the evening of his decapitation, by an enormous throng of Republican friends, who greatly admired his party steadfastness as well as honored his qualities as a man.

He was mayor of Madison in 1868-9, and in that position his customary business enterprise led him to inaugurate reforms in the city financial management which were of lasting benefit to the municipality.

In 1869, General Atwood was prominently mentioned as the Republican candidate for governor. The newspapers of the state, quite regardless of political affiliations, urged the nomination of the journalistic veteran by the party which he had helped to form, whose cause he had so persistently advocated, and for which he had sacrificed much. The files of the state press at this period are found to be fairly glowing with encomiums of the general's worth as a versatile, far-seeing public man, whose powerful pen, persuasive voice and cautious judgment had done splendid service in the

development of his adopted state. But unfortunately there were seven candidates for state offices from his own congressional district, and, although he received fifty-three votes in the convention, a large majority of them from his home district, another finally won. Considering all things, this vote was deemed at the time a very flattering evidence of the personal popularity of the general.

In the spring of 1869, Mr. Rublee dissolved his partnership with General Atwood and departed as United States minister to Switzerland. He was succeeded as the junior partner in the firm by Major J. O. Culver, a gentleman of excellent literary tastes, who remained with the *State Journal* until January 1, 1877. He is now connected with the San Francisco press. Ever since Major Culver's departure, the general has been sole proprietor of the establishment.

In January, 1870, Benjamin F. Hopkins, who represented the Madison district in the Forty-first congress, died, and within the following month General Atwood was elected his successor. Taking his seat on the twenty-third of February, he was given a place on the then important and hard working committee on the Pacific railway. In congress, as elsewhere, General Atwood soon established a reputation as an industrious and eminently useful man. He was particularly energetic in helping secure the passage of the Northern Pacific railway bill, to render the land grant available and insure the construction of the line. He had always figured prominently in the movement for the government improve-



ment of the Fox and Wisconsin waterways between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river, and was largely identified with the passage of an act to assist the project. He was the author of a bill dividing his state into two federal judicial districts, greatly to the advantage of the western half of the state, and by dint of great personal exertion pushed it to passage. Other bills, of considerable importance to Wisconsin, were either introduced by him or their passage secured largely through his energetic endorsement of them.

The general was also enthusiastic in the advocacy of the bill creating the centennial commission, and the establishment of the exposition of 1876 in the city of Philadelphia. In recognition of his earnestness in this matter, General Grant appointed him in 1872 as the commissioner from his state—a trust of great consequence, which the Wisconsin representative executed with signal ability. When the full commission convened in Philadelphia for the first time, on the fourth of March, 1872, General Atwood was chosen its temporary chairman, thus being the first official of that body and the first member to address it. He presided for several days, until the permanent president, Senator Hawley of Connecticut, succeeded him. The commission was composed of some of the brightest and most distinguished men of the nation, and throughout their deliberations General Atwood took a conspicuous and efficient part. During the last two, and most difficult years, he was on the executive committee; he was chairman of the auditing committee

from the first, and continuously served on several of the other important committees.

General Atwood has held numerous positions of a public or semi-public character, in addition to those before mentioned. In 1849 he was a justice of the peace; in 1854, a village trustee; for thirteen years after 1857 he was treasurer of the Wisconsin State Agricultural society; for sixteen years after 1866 a member—generally the president—of the board of trustees of the State Insane hospital; for many years a member of the city school board, and for a time its president; for thirty years a trustee and member of the executive committee, for five years the secretary and for a long series of years president, of the Madison Mutual Insurance company, an institution which, in its time, did a very large business throughout the upper Mississippi valley; he has long been president of the Madison Gas Light & Coke company; has been a director in several railroad enterprises, and the president of one of them, and has been, from its inception in 1849, one of the most active curators of the State Historical society—Judge Harlow S. Orton, General Simeon Mills and himself being the senior vice-presidents, now resident in Madison. For eight years previous to 1876 he was the Wisconsin member of the Republican national committee, and he has attended every national convention of his party since the nomination of Lincoln, in 1860, serving as a member of the convention of 1876.

On the twenty-third of August, 1849,

Mr. Atwood was married, at Potosi, Wisconsin, to Mary Sweeney, formerly of Canton, Ohio. They had born to them two sons and two daughters—the eldest of these being Charles David, who was vice-consul under General Lucius Fairchild, at Liverpool, in 1872-76, and afterwards an accomplished associate editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal*; in 1874 he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. A. J. Ward, one of the leading physicians of Madison; Charles died in 1878, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, at a time when he appeared to be about entering a distinguished career; his son David, now a bright lad of eleven years, is of the fourth generation of David Atwoods. Harrie F., Mary L. and Elizabeth G., other children of the general, reside in Madison, the latter having, in 1877, married Edward P. Vilas, brother and law partner of our present postmaster-general.

Physically, General Atwood is of medium, well-proportioned stature, with expressive dark-blue eyes, which always beam with kindly light and fairly kindle with animation when he is engaged in telling a good story, for the general is a charming conversationist, especially upon the fertile themes of pioneer and political reminiscence. His fine, regular features are well set off with a full head and a flowing beard of snow-white hair, his general personal appearance, as our excellent portrait shows, being not unlike that of the poet Bryant, during the years when the latter had taken on his most venerable aspect. Dignified and impressive in bearing, he is even-

tempered, frank and unassuming in manner, hopeful and happy in temperament, and noted throughout Wisconsin as a high-minded, public-spirited man, who has rare political sagacity and good executive ability. He inherited the spirit of hospitality, and his long pioneer experience cultivated this to a high degree, so that he has come to be widely known as a most cordial host, a prince of entertainers. Under the roof of the spacious Atwood mansion, in Madison, there have been welcomed, in the past forty years, a long line of politicians, journalists, high public officials, statesmen and scholars, representing many sections and countries. Although commencing life with but meager knowledge of text-books, he is a veteran in that best of mental training schools, the newspaper printing office, and, with large experience in various important walks of life, he has long had an excellent practical education, being a good judge and keen appreciator of the best in art and literature. He displays remarkable facility in composition, possesses a simple, incisive style, and is a quick thinker. His capacity for work has ever been something marvelous, and in this, as well as in other qualities here cited, increasing years appear in no sense to dull his ardor or lessen his mental and physical capacity. A politician in the best sense of the word, he has never allowed partisan bitterness to poison his intercourse with men of every political creed. To all classes he is the same affable, easily approached gentleman; the humblest workman in his extensive law-book and





*Adapted from Western Bldg.*

*J. H. McCalland*

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newspaper printing establishment can gain as ready and considerate an audience of the "chief" as the most distinguished visitor to his editorial sanctum or sumptuous home. General Atwood saw Wisconsin enter upon her condition of statehood; her history since that time is in a large sense the history of our subject, for he has been prominently identified with her steady development, and an active participant in many of the most important scenes upon her stage. While a fine representative of the best class of western pio-

neers, coming down to us from a former generation, which was born into conditions of life no longer possible anywhere on this continent, General Atwood has kept steady pace with the times, and, although he is now in his seventy-second year, a veritable patriarch in appearance, his mind is as agile as his step; he is eminently a man of to-day, progressive in tone and confident that the things of the present are necessarily an improvement on the past. In honoring such a man we indeed honor ourselves.

REUBEN G. THWAITES.

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### J. H. McCLELLAND, M. D.

AMONG those who have been active in the advancement of medical science, and in the front rank thereof, should be placed the subject of this sketch—Dr. J. H. McClelland of Pittsburgh. No more earnest and busy man can be found in that great host of able and brilliant men who are making western Pennsylvania known and felt the world over, and there is certainly no one who has accomplished greater works in the same number of years, nor reached a higher rank in the medical world at so early a period in life.

He was born in Pittsburgh, May 20, 1845; his father, J. H. McClelland, sr., came to this country from the north of Ireland in 1816, possessed of the hardy frame and vigorous intellect which we have come to associate with Scotch-Irish ancestry. Mr. McClelland took an active part in the anti-slavery cause,

and wrote many strong articles on the subject. Later on he became interested in the question of public education, and advocated, both in print and on the platform, many reforms in the public school system, not a few of which he had the satisfaction of seeing carried into effect. As architect and contractor, he erected many schoolhouses, public buildings and churches in Pittsburgh and vicinity, among which latter is St. Paul's cathedral. Between the years 1867-71 he served as postmaster, having been appointed without his knowledge or solicitation.

Dr. McClelland's mother was a daughter of the Rev. John Black, D. D., the first minister of the Reformed Presbyterian church west of the Allegheny mountains. He graduated with the highest honors at the Glasgow university, and came to this country an exile

for liberty's sake, having engaged in the Irish insurrection of 1797-8; studied for the ministry and was assigned to the so-called western district. Here he exerted a powerful influence, during that formative period, in moulding the character of the times.

General James A. Ekin, in a eulogy delivered January, 1884, says:

Perhaps no historian would ever have thought of coming to the beautiful valley of the Monongahela, the sweetest valley in all the land, to find a heroic figure. Perhaps no poet would ever have deigned to visit the wilderness of western Pennsylvania, its mountains and its valleys, to find materials for a grand epic of human life. But here, among these hills and upon these slopes, there lived and toiled and died, one of the most conspicuous men of his time, and one of the moral heroes of the century, to whom the present generation, and the progressive reforms of the day are much indebted, and the community with one voice acknowledge the greatness and purity of his character. The name of this illustrious man, a man typical of his race, was the Rev. John Black, D. D.

Dr. McClelland, the subject of this sketch, at the age of seventeen, had received an appointment to Anapolis, but was induced by the family physician, Dr. J. P. Dake—now full of years and honors—to take up the study of medicine. He graduated at the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia, in 1867. Returning to his native city, he became identified with the Homœopathic Medical and Surgical hospital, then being established. Having displayed an aptitude for surgical work, he was at once appointed to the surgical staff of the new hospital and performed the first capital operation in that institution. He has served ever since on the surgical staff; was for fifteen years secretary of

the executive committee of the board of trustees, and for the past five years has been its chairman. The growth of this institution from a small beginning to its present state of efficiency has been a part of his life work. The old hospital which for sixteen years had fulfilled its noble mission, was torn down to give way to a structure more in keeping with its growing usefulness. Owing to the large generosity of many of Pittsburgh's citizens, and the liberal policy of the state, an institution has been established at a total cost of two hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars, with a capacity of two hundred beds. It has been pronounced by competent authorities one of the best in construction and appointment in the country.

Dr. McClelland achieved success in the line of his chosen profession from the very outstart, and rapidly built up an extensive practice; but notwithstanding its constantly increasing demands, he has contributed from time to time, many surgical papers to various journals and county, state and national societies; among these are clinical papers on "Combined Method of Leg Amputation," "Amputation at Hip Joint," "Cranial Fractures," "Excision of Lower Jaw," "Excision of Kidney," "Hernia," "Bone Diseases," "Tumors," "Antiseptic Surgery," "Lithotomy," "Ovariectomies," "Lacerations of the Cervix," etc.

As member of the Surgical Bureau of the American Institute of Homœopathy, he has prepared many papers on a variety of surgical subjects. A special part of his surgical work has

been the devising of improved methods of operation.

Having organized the anatomical society of Allegheny county, he has been demonstrator for several years and later its president. He has also been an active worker in and president of the Allegheny County Medical society. In the state society he delivered the annual address in 1875 in Library hall, Pittsburgh, taking for his subject, "The Mind." He was its president in 1881.

At the world's convention of 1876 at Philadelphia he, by special appointment, presented a paper on one of the surgical diseases, and at the world's convention of 1881 in London, was, by appointment, one of the debaters.

In 1876, after repeated calls, he accepted the professorship of surgery in the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia, his *alma mater*. In this position he continued another year, but absolutely declined the honor of further service, unwilling to give up home ties. At the last annual meeting of the Alumni Association of this college he was chosen president for the year 1886-7. In 1878 he delivered a course of lectures on "Operative Surgery" at the Boston University School of Medicine. Professorships in four different colleges were offered in a single year, but he refused to leave his native city for other fields.

Dr. McClelland's most recent literary work has been the contribution of the article of nearly one hundred pages on "Diseases of the Kidneys," in the second volume of 'A System of Medicine,' edited by Dr. H. R. Arndt. This article has been specially noted by American and British reviewers.

In July, 1885, a state board of health was established, and Dr. McClelland was appointed by the governor to represent this section of the state.

Without entering into further details, it may be remarked in conclusion that energy and ability to despatch business have enabled Dr. McClelland to crowd an immense amount of work into a comparatively few years. He has had a large share in the advancement of medical science, and has few superiors in the art of surgery. While he has won eminence already in the line of his profession, he has still found time to cultivate and enjoy the graces of social life, and has won a large circle of friends. He is loved, admired and respected wherever known, and the usefulness he has already been able to give the world is a sure guarantee of even greater usefulness in the future.

In 1884 Dr. McClelland was married to Miss Rachel May Pears, daughter of the late John P. Pears of Pittsburgh.

J. H. KENNEDY.

## PATRICK SMITH.

MENTION has been already made in these columns of a number of men who have had connection with the growth of the lake and river interests of Cleveland, but the story could be told with no degree of fulness without some reference to the busy life and valuable labors of Patrick Smith. His life bridges over the long distance lying between old Cleveland and the Cleveland of to-day, and he can well remember the time when the traveler spoke of it as a "pretty and promising little village on the south shore of Lake Erie," when there were ten log cabins to one frame house; and when the vessel that drew seven feet of water was considered a marine monster. He has seen the city advance step by step along the road of greatness and prosperity, and has done his full share in producing that result.

Mr. Smith was born in Cavan county, Ireland, on March 16, 1827. When he was nine years of age he was brought to America, where his parents had decided to make their home. Cleveland, where they located, then numbered but two thousand inhabitants, and was just entering upon its career as an incorporated city. The son was placed at the public school, where he remained for a short time. It was the father's desire that he should be given a good education, and in accord with that desire the boy was soon afterward transferred to the care

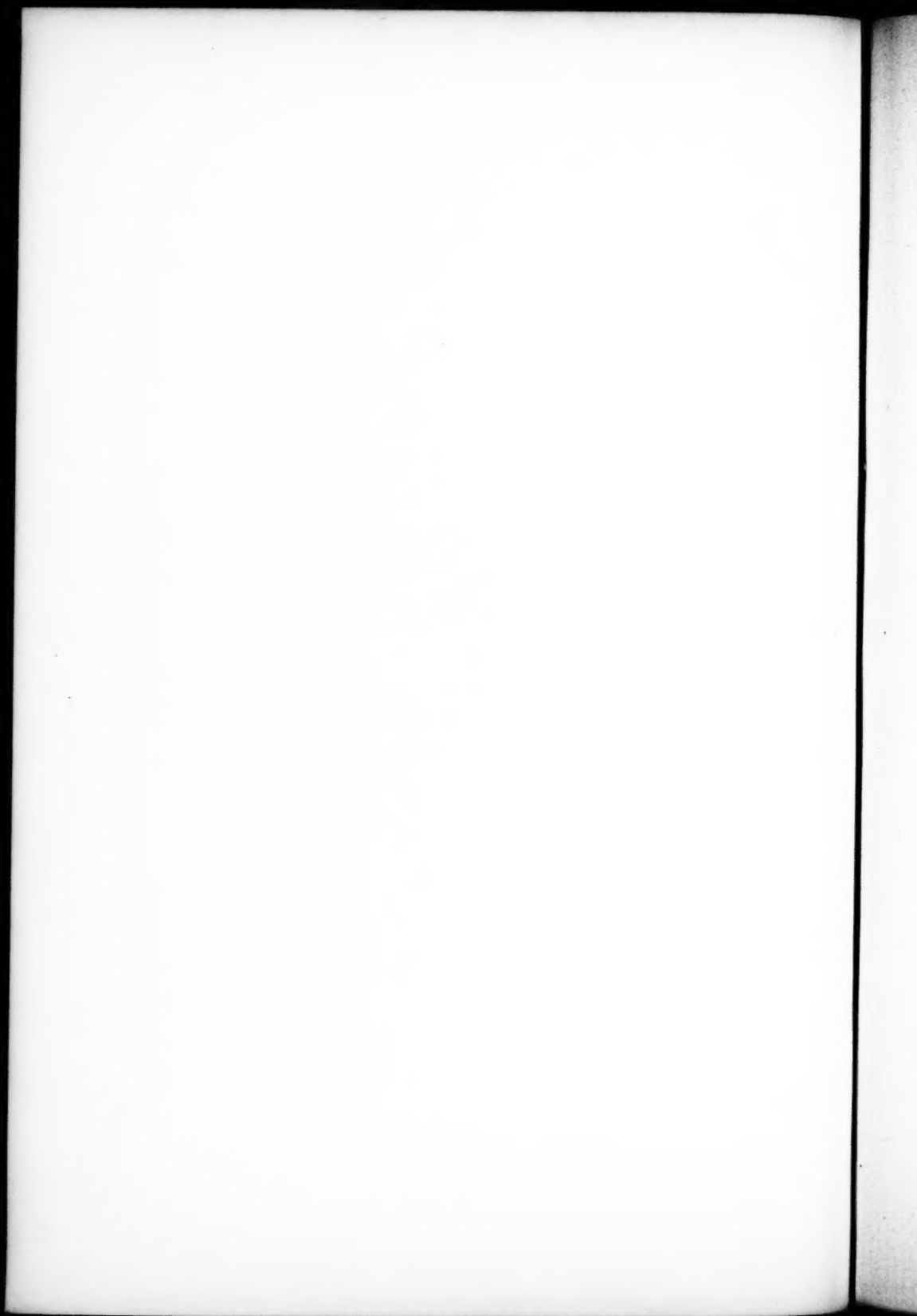
of Professor Fisher, who kept a private school in a log house covered with clapboards, on Bank street. Here he remained for a year and a half, making good use of his opportunities, and when the father purchased a farm on the Independence road, near Newburgh, the son accompanied him. The time of the son was divided between the work of the farm in summer and school in winter, until 1846, when the family once more returned to the city. Upon reaching his majority, Patrick decided to enter upon business for himself; and accordingly he leased a dredge from the corporation and began the business in which he has won such success, and been of such material benefit to Cleveland. The marine business of this port was increasing rapidly, and its importance advancing with every year that passed. There had been little done to improve the harbor, and all apparatus available for this purpose was of the most primitive character. Few vessels drew more than seven and a half feet of water, but still it was necessary to make the channel deeper in some places. Occasional efforts in the line of dredging were made from the mouth of the river up to Center street bridge. The fact that at the present day craft drawing eighteen and nineteen feet move freely up and down the Cuyahoga, shows what a vast quantity of soil has





*Admiral of Western History*

*P. Smith*



been removed from the river bottom. Mr. Smith gave himself to his new task with the industry and energy he had already displayed in the minor affairs of life. The work was such that it could be followed only several months in the year, and was a slow and laborious task with the appliances then at command. After the scows had received their loads it was necessary to pole them by hand out into the lake, to the place of dumping. After a short experience in this direction, Mr. Smith built a pile driver to keep himself and men busy when the dredging should be at a standstill. Both dredge and pile driver were worked by horse power, until that slow and cumbersome method was superseded by steam in 1852. Mr. Smith was soon enabled to purchase a dredge of his own, and as the city grew and the fleets of lake craft multiplied, the demand for the work in which he was engaged naturally increased. In 1856 he built three additional pile drivers, and one dredge, and in 1858 built two more dredges. In 1863 he purchased the tug *Belle King*, and henceforth the slow and uncertain method of propelling out by hand was at an end. Mr. Smith was for a time engaged in brick making, and also took contracts for cutting ice, and filling and grading.

Nearly all of Mr. Smith's enterprises commanded success, and he soon extended his operations to other lines of marine activity, and became one of the main business forces along the river. He made investment in various tugs and other vessels, and has made his

mark in that direction, while still continuing his operations in the lines of labor first entered upon. In 1880 he became the owner of a dry dock, which he still owns. In that year he decided to ease some of his burdens upon younger shoulders, and accordingly turned his large and prosperous business over to his sons, Louis P. and James A. Smith, whose ages at that time were respectively twenty-one and nineteen years. They have since conducted it with admirable judgment and success.

Mr. Smith has made himself useful to the public in other ways than those outlined above, and his influence has ever been on the side of right, law and good order. Politically he is a Democrat of the conservative type, and has on several occasions been called upon to serve the people in public office. He was elected to the city council from the Eighth ward in 1869, and reelected in 1871, and was again elected in 1881 and 1883. While in that body he served on a number of important committees, and was especially valuable in all matters pertaining to the river or lake front, his long and varied experience coming into full play. He aimed at no display upon the floor, but made himself felt as a business man in the committees or other places of deliberation, and his vote was never given for a measure of which his conscience and judgment did not approve. Mr. Smith was also a member of the Cleveland board of water works trustees from 1875 to 1878, where his experience was again made useful to one of the most important of the city

departments. He was also elected county commissioner in 1883, and served one term.

Mr. Smith has never attempted to make himself conspicuous in reform movements, but has quietly wrought for the good of the people and their advancement whenever and wherever an opportunity presented itself. He is a strong friend to the temperance cause, and a foe to intemperance in all its forms and at all seasons. His personal habits are in accord with his principles, as he never uses tobacco in any form. His wife is an earnest and able worker in the temperance and other reform movements of the city, and has ever found aid and encouragement from her husband. Mrs. Smith, before her marriage, was one of a party of girls who made regalias for the first temperance society of Cleveland. She was a mem-

ber of the first Catholic Relief society in St. Mary's church, on the flats, in 1848, under the leadership of Bishop Rappe. They are known as liberal friends to the poor, and many have indeed found occasion to bless them for help in time of need. Mr. Smith, although retired from business, is by no means an idler, but devotes himself to an oversight of his many interests, and to such public or private usefulness as comes to his hand.

Mr. Smith was married, in 1851, to Miss Margaret Olwill of Cleveland. Eight children have been born to them, four of whom have died. Besides the two sons mentioned above, two daughters are now living, Estella and Angella Smith, the former being the wife of Mr. James Cunnea of Cleveland.

J. H. K.



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

[We print below, with compliments to Mr. C. W. Butterfield of Madison, Wisconsin, two Indian speeches never before published. These were sent about the first of July, 1779, by certain chiefs of the Delaware nation then at Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh)—the first, to two of their own chiefs; the other, to the Wyandots upon the Sandusky river.—ED.]

## I.

"Captain Kilbuck & the other chiefs of the Delaware nation at Fort Pitt to Pipe and Wingenum:

"*Brothers.*—When we arrived here we sent to you the speeches, received by us from the Congress, from the King of France, the King of Spain and the great Warrior of the American nation General Washington. When you receive this rise up and come to Coshockin [Coshocton], let nothing hinder you from coming, but think of saving your lives.

"*Brothers.*—Almost five years are past since we began to speak to the nations. If you do intend to embrace a good opportunity, now is the time, this is the last time we shall send to you or speak to you, if you do not take this opportunity, you may depend on being unhappy.

"*Brothers.*—We do not intend by this to threaten you or frighten you into compliance, but we take pity on you, we clearly foresee that if you do not listen to what you are now told you will suffer greatly for your neglect.

"*Brothers.*—Thirty days is allowed to our nation to gather at Coshocking.

## II.

The Chiefs of the Delawares at Fort Pitt to the Chiefs of the Wyandot nation:

*Uncles.*—Listen to us. We are very glad you told us to be strong in the good works we are about. We are glad you told us you wipe the tears from our cheeks and set our Hearts at rest. Now Uncles, listen to us, the young man you sent (John Montour) has put his hand to the chain of Friendship with us, the United States, the Kings of France and Spain & he has been out on a scout with the American warriors against the bad nations & we love him for his conduct, but we shall love him more if he proves true and sticks to that business.

Now Uncles, Listen to us & to our brother Mashingoce Keishuch [Col. Daniel Brodhead, commanding at Fort Pitt], it is almost five years since we began to speak to you to come and join our Brothers the Americans, and it is three months past since we told you to meet us at Pittsburg on our return from Philadelphia, it is likewise twenty-six days since our return, and all this time we have waited for you here. Now Uncles—we once more speak to you to inform you if you have a mind to take hold of the chain of Friendship, you must come without delay, we are still waiting for you; therefore when you hear this, get up immediately and run, if you do not embrace this opportunity, we cannot tell what will become of you, or what may happen to you, you know that trouble will come on you.

*Uncles.*—We desire you may not think your nephews the Delawares want to frighten you, for they love you and pity you. They have seen with their eyes and heard with their ears enough to convince them.

## EDITORIAL.

ROBERT FULTON was, beyond all question, the man who designed and built the first successful steamboat.

"Godfrey taught seamen to interrogate  
With steady gaze, though tempest-tossed, the sun,  
And from his beam true oracle obtain.  
Franklin, dread thunderbolts, with daring hand,  
Seized and averted their destructive stroke,  
From the protected dwellings of mankind.  
Fulton, by flame, compelled the angry sea  
To vapor rarefied, his bark to drive,  
In triumph proud, thro' the loud-sounding serge."

All this is acknowledged as truth; but the human mind had forestalled Fulton in his great invention—largely, however, in theory—as the following, from Manasseh Cutler's 'Federal Lands,' published at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1787, clearly proves:

It is found, by late experiments, that sails are used to great advantage against the current of the Ohio. And it is worthy of observation, that, in all probability, steamboats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive river navigation.

THE *London Daily News*, of a recent date, gives an interesting history of the British flag. "We are all," says that paper, "familiar with white, blue and red ensigns, and with the Union Jack, which occupies the upper quarter nearest the flagstaff. The white ensign has the red cross of St. George in addition to the Union Jack. Without the Jack this white ensign with a red cross represents our old national flag as it existed from the time of Richard I. until the death of Elizabeth. This red cross flag, the banner of St. George, appears to have been chosen by the soldier king in honor of the saint who was the patron of soldiers. It remained for more than four hundred years the flag under which the English warriors fought on land and on sea. When James VI. of Scotland, succeeded Elizabeth, the Scotch had a national flag. That also was a cross, but it was shaped

differently from that of St. George and was known as the cross of St. Andrew. The ground of the Scotch flag was blue, and its cross was white. To mark the union of the two kingdoms under one sovereign, the national banner underwent a change, although Scotland still retained its separate parliament.

In the new flag, the two banners of Scotland and England were united. There appeared in it the oblique white cross of St. Andrew on a blue ground, and the red cross of St. George on a white margin, worked in the blue field. The king was accustomed to sign his name in the French form of James, 'Jacques.' He was, in fact, the Union Jacques, or, as we improperly pronounce it, Jack. For local purposes the Scotch still continued to use the white St. Andrew's cross on a blue field, and the English the red cross on the white field. It was stated by royal proclamation in 1606 that 'whereas some difference hath arisen between our subjects of South and North Britain, traveling by seas, about the bearing of their flags; for the avoiding of all such contentions hereafter, we have, with the advice of our council, ordered that henceforth all our subjects of this isle and kingdom of Great Britain, and the members therefore, shall bear in their maintop the red cross, commonly called St. George's cross, and the white cross, called St. Andrew's cross, joined together,' and in their foretop our subjects of South Britain shall wear the red cross only, as was their wont; and our subjects of North Britain in their foretop the white cross only, as they were accustomed.'

In 1707, when the Scotch and English legislatures were united, the distinctive flags ceased to be used, and the united flags as arranged in 1606 became the single ensign for the United Kingdom. It was the sovereign that made the union and established the national flag, and an establishment of distinct legislatures again would

not alter the flag. Ireland would take, presumably, for its local ensign the red cross of St. Patrick. This Irish banner ought to have appeared in the union flag of 1606, but it did not. Ireland had no distinct recognition in the union flag until 1801, when the Irish and British legislatures were united. At that date the union jack underwent a further change, and the red diagonal cross of St. Patrick on a white field was introduced. Since that date the union jack has shown the red cross and white margin, recalling the banner of St. George; the white diagonal and blue field of St. Andrew's banner, and the red diagonal cross of St. Patrick, showing over the white diagonal cross of the Scotch banner. The blue ground of the Jack is therefore due to Scotland and the red and white as crosses and margins to England and to Ireland."

In a letter written on the fifteenth of October, 1686, by Robert Turner, a merchant in Philadelphia, "and one of the Council," are these words: "Building goeth on. *John Readman* is building one Brick House for *Richard Whip-pain*, of sixty Foot long, and fifty six Foot wide. For the Widow *Farmer*, another Brick House. For *Thomas Barker* and *Samuel Jobson* two Brick Cellars, and Chimnies for back Kitchings. *Thomas Duckett* is Building a Brick House at the *Skulkil*, forty eight Foot long and three Stories high; there are two other Brick Houses to be built this Summer."

MR. A. R. SPOFFORD, librarian of congress, in a published account of the National Library of the United States, for which a new building is projected, gives some information of other great libraries. He states that the National Library now contains 570,000 volumes, not counting 200,000 pamphlets and a large and rare collection of manuscripts, and states that the annual increase is about 25,000 volumes.

"When I took charge of this library, twenty-two years ago, there were twenty-five larger libraries in the world. Now there are but five larger

"The largest library in the world is the Bibliothèque Nationale of France, or National Li-

brary, formerly Royal, then Imperial, according to the changes of government. It was founded in 1737 by a royal printing tax requiring a copy of each book printed for the king's library and contains 2,250,000 volumes. The library of the British museum, founded in 1753 from a donation of books and private gallery of Sir Hans Sloan, contains 1,500,000 volumes. It became a great library through liberal donations from subjects of the crown, including many great private libraries. The books, engravings, arts, antiques and natural history have long since outgrown their present quarters. All collections except books, engravings, and a few antiquities have been successively removed to Kensington to make room. The St. Petersburg Imperial library, founded by ukase of the czar, has 1,000,000 volumes. The Royal Library of Berlin, founded by a copy tax in 1661, the oldest big library on the globe, has 700,000 volumes. The Library of Munich, Bavaria, founded in the sixteenth century, claims 800,000, but includes pamphlets which we do not. If we counted pamphlets we would have 770,000. The next in size is the library of congress, which is our national collection.

The "justly celebrated Monsieur St. John, de Creve Cœur, his most Christian Majesty's Consul for New York," over one hundred years ago, formed a favorable impression in his mind of the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, as the "spot for a town." "It is," says he, "towards one of the principal branches of the Muskingum that the great village of Tuscarawa is built, whence a carriage of two miles leads to the river Cuyahoga, deep and rather rapid, the mouth of which in Lake Erie forms an excellent harbor for ships of two hundred tons; this place seems to be designed for a spot for a town, and many persons of my acquaintance have already thought of it."

THE Colorado University consists of three departments, in three different places, namely, Boulder, Golden and Fort Collins. "Unfortunately," says the *Denver Tribune Republican*, "none of these departments of our university

are as flourishing as we should like to see them. Somehow or other they seem to be lost. They are hardly heard of outside of the localities in which they are situated, and are virtually unknown outside of the state. There is a suspicion that in establishing these schools, or departments of the Colorado university, the legislature was not prompted entirely by a desire to lay the foundations of a great university, but that a desire to benefit the towns in which the several schools are placed was also considered."

CONCERNING the market in Philadelphia and vicinity two hundred years ago, and the commerce of the "town" at the same date (1686), we have before us this record:

I have never seen brighter and better corn than in these parts, especially in the county of Chester. Provisions very cheap; pork at two pence and good, fat, fresh beef at three halfpence the pound, in our market. Fish is plentiful; corn cheap; wheat three and sixpence a bushel; rye half a crown; Indian corn two shillings of this money; and it is without doubt that we shall have as good wine as France produces. Here is great appearance of a trade, and if we had small money for exchange, we should not want returns. The whale fishery is considerable, several companies out to catch them. There is one caught that its thought will make several hundred barrels of oil. This besides tobacco and skins and furs we have for commerce.

THE death of John A. Logan, on Sunday afternoon, December 26, at his home in Washington, startled the nation. He was the son of Dr. John A. Logan, a native of Ireland, who emigrated to Illinois in 1823. His son John was born in Jackson county, that state, on the ninth of February, 1826, where he received a common school education, subsequently graduating at the Louisville university. He enlisted as a private in the Illinois volunteers and became quartermaster in the war with Mexico; was elected clerk of the Jackson county court, in 1849; studied and practiced law; was elected to the legislature of Illinois in 1852, 1853, 1856 and 1857; was prosecuting attorney from 1853 to 1857; was a Buchanan presidential elector in 1856; was a member of the thirty-sixth congress and also of the thirty-seventh; resigned and entered the Union army, as colonel, reaching the rank of major-general before the close of the war; was appointed minister to

Mexico in 1865 but declined; was elected a member of the fortieth and forty-first congresses; was elected as a Republican to the United States senate, to succeed Richard Yates, serving from March 4, 1871, to March 3, 1877; resumed the practice of the law; was again elected, this time in 1879, to the United States senate, and re-elected in 1885. His term of office, had he lived, would have expired, March 3, 1891.

THERE have been published by the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical society, in all, sixty-seven historical tracts. These are of great value to the historical student—especially to the student of western history. The last one gives, besides the record of the nineteenth annual meeting of the society, excellent biographical sketches of General J. H. Devereaux, Franklin B. Hough, Captain Alva Bradley, Judge Eben Newton, Joseph Perkins, Honorable George Willey, Honorable George Mygatt, Honorable F. D. Parish and Dr. Theodatus Garlick.

ON the twenty-fourth of June, 1812, the war department wrote General William Hull, then on his way to Detroit, authorizing him to commence offensive operations against Great Britain, as war had been declared on the eighteenth previous. "Should the force under your command," said the letter, "be equal to the enterprise, consistent with the safety of your own posts, you will take possession of Malden, and extend your conquests as circumstances may justify."

On the same evening the letter was received the following answer was made:

DETROIT, 9th of July, 1812.

SIR:—I have received your letter of the 24th of June. The army under my command arrived here on the 5th of July inst. Every effort has been and is still making, by the British to collect the Indians under their standard. They have a large number. I am preparing boats, and shall pass the river in a few days. The British have established a post directly opposite this place. I have confidence in dislodging him and being in possession of the opposite bank. I have little time to write: every thing will be done that is possible to do. The British command the water and the savages. I do not think the force here equal to the reduction of Amherstburg; you therefore must not be too sanguine.

WILLIAM HULL.



THE late John E. Parke, born in Pittsburgh, in 1806, was one of the most widely known and enterprising citizens of western Pennsylvania. During his long life he was a careful observer of the growth and progress of the cities of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, and the surrounding country. For years previous to his death he had been engaged in collecting materials for a history of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, but having learned that another was busy upon a similar work for the first named city, he generously confined himself for the most part to the city of Allegheny. The papers he had prepared are now published in a volume of 385 pages, entitled 'Recollections of Seventy-One years and Historical Gleanings of Allegheny,' which will be highly prized by those who wish to know what Allegheny was, how it has grown and about its industries, churches, exciting incidents, public institutions and a good many of its more distinguished citizens. Judge Parke was held in high esteem while living, and this volume will be welcomed by his many friends and also by all who wish to become acquainted with the past history of Allegheny. They will also find not a little pertaining to Pittsburgh.

APPROPOS of the warlike speeches made in the senate of the United States by Senators Ingalls, Frye, Hale and others, the following articles from the London *Times* of January 6 and 7, 1862, will prove of interest. It is especially interesting to note how the English government regarded our ability at that time to defend our chief seaport and lake cities from attack by British ironclads. Manifestly we are in no better position to-day than we were in 1862, so far as the condition of our navy is concerned, to protect New York, Boston, Newport, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Cleveland and Detroit from successful assault by the British navy. If we are to have war with Canada and Great Britain, in the name of a moderate amount of common sense, let us first get a navy that will not put us to open shame at the very first blow that is struck.

[From the London *Times*, January 7, 1862.]

#### THE NAVAL REINFORCEMENTS FOR NORTH AMERICA.

If praise is due to the war department for their

rapid and energetic action in sending out military stores and reinforcements for Canada, the same tribute can unquestionably be claimed by the admiralty for the rapidity which they have shown in preparing for the impending struggle, strengthening our fleet on the North American station, and bringing forward the vessels that will be fit for service on the lakes of Canada. It is just five weeks since we laid before our readers a list of the naval force under the command of Admiral Milne on the North American and West Indian stations. That list comprised five line-of-battle ships, ten first class frigates and seventeen powerfully armed corvettes and sloops—all steamers, and mounting in all eight hundred and fifty guns. This fleet is, in fact, equal to the whole Federal navy, whether steam or sailing. As we have said, only five weeks have elapsed since that list was given, and already the preparations are far advanced towards reinforcing this fleet with two line-of-battle ships, twenty-three of the largest, fastest and heaviest armed screw frigates, and eight powerful corvettes, mounting among them one thousand guns. Some of these vessels have sailed and are already on the station, others are on their way out, others only await their sailing orders to start at a moment's notice, some are in commission and will be ready and off in a very short time, the only one or two, such as the *Black Prince*, though rapidly fitting, are not sufficiently forward to be commissioned yet. Of the squadron of frigates, each vessel has been carefully chosen for its great sailing speed, high steam power and heavy armament, and never yet has such a fleet of picked cruisers been sent against an enemy. Among them are the *Shannon*, 51 guns; *Leander*, 51; *Euryalus*, 51; *Sutley*, 51; *Orleans*, 51; *Severn*, 51; *Phoebe*, 51; *Warrior*, 40; *Black Prince*, 40; *Galatea*, 26 (sister to the formidable *Ariadne*); *Defiance*, 22; *Defence* (iron), 22; *Barrosa*, 21; *Pylades*, 21; *Rattlesnake*, 21; *Chanticleer*, 17; *Greyhound*, 17; *Zebra*, 17; and *Magicienne*, 16. The two line-of-battle ships are the *Hero*, 91; and *Mecanee*, 81. The sloops very heavily armed are the *Styx*, 7; *Stromboli*, 7; *Devastation*, 7; *Petrel*, 11; *Rapid*, 11; *Rosario*, 11; *Pandoia*, 5; and *Vigilant*, 4. All these ships, like those already on the station, are screws or paddles, so that by the beginning of February Admiral Milne will have at his disposal sixty-five sail—namely, seven line-of-battle ships, thirty-three frigates and twenty-five corvettes and sloops. Of the seven line-of-battle ships, four—the *St. George*, *Conqueror*, *Donagel* and *Hero*—both steam and sail

as fast as the best frigates in the service. With such a force a total and most effectual blockade of all the Federal ports could be established in a single week; for, unlike the coast line of the Confederate states, which is protected by myriads of little islands and countless inlets and channels leading to the great rivers beyond, all the great Federal harbors have such narrow entrances that a single vessel would be sufficient to stop all passage in or out. With the *Warrior* at Sandy Hook, what could enter New York, or rather what effectual resistance could Fort Hamilton and the batteries on Staten Island offer to a combined attack of the four iron frigates, in case the government wished to force the passage and dictate their own terms of peace by laying the fleet broadside on to the streets of New York and Hoboken? That the *Warrior*, *Black Prince* and *Resistance* and *Defence* could engage and destroy these batteries without the smallest risk to themselves, the experiments against the *Warrior* target have proved exclusively. A single vessel at each port closes Boston and Portland, and two off Cape May would be ample for the Delaware river and the trade at Philadelphia. Admiral Milne, we believe, has already made very complete arrangements as to the disposition of his squadron, so that, in the event of war the Federal cruisers off the southern coast may be promptly and satisfactorily accounted for.

The worst part of the struggle, however, will not be on the north Atlantic seaboard, but on the great lakes of Upper Canada and North America. It was said truly in the last war that whoever was master of these lakes would be master of all. The knowledge of this may have led to the clause in the treaty of 1815, by which both powers agreed to build no war vessels on the lakes in time of peace, and this clause again accounts for the fact that the *New Orleans* eighty-four guns, commenced in 1814 in Sackett's harbor, on Lake Ontario, has remained unfinished to this day. Of course, from this vessel, left unfinished nearly fifty years ago (though it is to this hour reckoned in the Federal navy list as an effective line-of-battle ship), we have nothing to fear. It is, however, most important to remember that the Federals have a navy yard on Lake Ontario, and that, to avert the ravages of war from Upper Canada, we must be careful to maintain as absolute a supremacy on Lakes Erie and Ontario as we shall do on the American coast from the Bay of Fundy to the Chesapeake. This, as concerns our success in the struggle, is a point of vital interest, and we are glad, therefore, to be able to tell our readers that this danger has been foreseen

and amply provided against, and that within a week after the breaking up of the ice on the rivers and canals a whole fleet of gun boats, with the most powerful of the screw corvettes sent out to Admiral Milne, will carry the protection of the English flag from Montreal to Detroit.

Between lake Ontario and Montreal the navigation of the St. Lawrence is rendered difficult and somewhat dangerous to vessels coming down the stream by the rapids of Long Sault, the Cedars, Cascade and Lachine, places where there are sudden rapids formed by a series of declivities in the bed of the river, and where the waters rush down, sometimes for a distance of one or two miles, with a velocity of from twenty to nearly twenty-five miles an hour. Until within the last few years these rapids were considered too dangerous for any vessel to attempt to descend them, and, of course, getting them up again is impossible. To overcome the obstacles which these currents offered to water communication by the great highway of the St. Lawrence to the lakes above, the Canadian government, with British assistance, have formed a series of canals with innumerable lock-gates above Montreal, by which these rapids are avoided, and easy communication obtained with Lakes Ontario, Erie and Michigan. The first canal is about two miles long, through the southern extremity of the island of Montreal, and this avoids the rapids of Lachine. The next, in order to avoid the Cascades and Cedars rapids, is much longer, and unfortunately, it is made on the right or American bank of the river, and only some twelve or fifteen miles distance from the frontier itself. This extends from Beauharnais to Hungry bay, and is called the Beauharnais canal. The next, the Cornwall canal extends from Cornwall to Dickens's Landing to avoid the Long Sault. Beyond this are short detached canals at Farrand's Point, the Platte, Iroquois and Galops rapids. After these the navigation is clear through the Thousand Islands into Lake Ontario. The tall, wide, three-cornered river steamers which ply between Lake Ontario and Montreal go up these canals every day, and up these canals, too, the gun boats, sloops and corvettes must pass to protect the shores and trades of western Canada. They may do so with ease, since all the locks in the canal are built to pass vessels one hundred and eighty-six feet long, forty-four and one-half feet beam and nine feet draught. This important point we can speak with certainty, as we have an official engineer's plan, with a dimension of the locks and canals before us. All our smaller twenty-one gun frigates, such as the

*Pylades, Rattlesnake, Barrosa, Satellite, etc.*, could, we think, with perfect ease, pass up these locks if lightened of their heavy stores and armaments, which could, of course, be taken up with them on timber rafts or flat bottomed country boats. Once on the waters of Lake Ontario all our difficulties would be at an end, for at the western extremity of Lake Ontario is the Welland canal, connecting Port Dalhousie on Lake Ontario, with Port Colborne on Lake Erie. The length of this canal is about thirty-five miles, and it passes entirely through the British territory. The lock gates on this are capable of passing of one hundred and forty-two feet long, twenty-six feet beam and ten feet draught, an ample accommodation for the heavy armed six-gun screw, *Despatch*, gun boat vessels like the *Flying Fish*, or even the heavy armed eleven-gun sloops of the class to which the *Rapids, Petrel, and Rosairo* belong. From Lake Erie the River St. Clair leads direct between Detroit, on the American side, and Chatham, on the Canadian side, into Lake Michigan. Across Lake St. Clair and down the St. Clair river two-thirds of the corn and provision traffic between the states of the far west and the Atlantic seaboard is carried on, and one of the two corvettes on Lake St. Clair would be sufficient to stop it all.

The Grand Trunk railway has a line to the settlement of Sarnia on Lake Huron, around the shores of which grows any quantity of the finest timber. If shipwrights were employed to build a few gun-boats at this place (their machinery and armaments could be forwarded by rail) they could steam at once, by a passage, as wide as the straights of Dover, into Lake Michigan, and find not only the enormous traffic of this great lake, but even such towns as Chicago and Milwaukee, entirely at their mercy. It may be said, perhaps that in case of war it is equally open to the Federalists to do all this as to ourselves, but this is not so. Undoubtedly if we build gun-boats on Lake Huron, the Federals could build others to check them on Lakes Michigan and Superior quite as fast. But it is equally certain that they cannot possibly build steam frigates and corvettes on lakes Erie and Ontario as fast as we can send them up through the canals we have mentioned ready built, manned and equipped. There is, moreover, only one practicable means of communication between Ontario and Erie, which is through the Welland canal we have spoken of, held by the British. As soon as the ice breaks, therefore, if the war goes on, we may expect to find these lakes covered with cruisers, and each Federal

port on them as closely blockaded as Boston or New York.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Federals will quietly acquiesce to our supremacy. In the time that would intervene between a declaration of war and the thawing of the canals on the St. Lawrence, the Federals would be masters of the situation, and would be certain to fit out something like the mosquito fleet that swarmed over the West India station when the "sensation" as to the slave right of search ran high. Such vessels, however ridiculous when opposed to steam frigates, would be very formidable when there was nothing to resist them, and we cannot meet them in the lakes before next April. Kingston, with its Fort Henry and still more formidable batteries, *a fleur d'Eau*, can take care of itself, and a couple of guns on the long spit of land which shuts in the splendid harbor of Hamilton, would well shield that fine town. But Whitby, Cobourg, Belville, even Toronto itself, might be laid in ashes by a couple of ferryboats carrying long range guns, if immediate steps are not taken to defend them with earthworks when it is first seen that war is inevitable. However, as the Canadian government has direct telegraphic communication with Lord Lyons at Washington, we may trust they are not likely to be taken by surprise on this point. But there are other means of carrying the war into the enemy's territory besides by the Welland and St. Lawrence canals. Lake Ontario can be reached from Montreal by the Ottawa and Rideau canal. This is the longest in Canada or America, about one hundred and twenty miles in length, running from Ottawa to Kingston. The locks on this accommodate vessels of one hundred feet long, nineteen feet beam and five and one-half feet draught, so that by this route our gun-boats might gain Ontario and Erie, while the corvettes and short frigates came up by the St. Lawrence. At Sorel, also, about twenty miles below Montreal, is a river which leads through the St. Ours lock and through the Chambly canal, direct to the head of Lake Champlain. The locks on this canal admit ships of one hundred and thirteen feet in length, twenty-two and one-half feet beam and six and one-half feet draught, so that by this route also any number of gun boats might be sent into Lake Champlain, on the waters of which there is not a single vessel larger than a steam ferry, and on the shores of which are large, rich and utterly unprotected towns, such as Burlington, New Haven, etc. All these canals are British property, on British soil,

and held by the Canadian government as the keys which give access to our ships to the most distant provinces of the west. In our previous notice of the military reinforcement for Canada, we omitted, in speaking of the high efficiency of the military train, to mention the name of Colonel MacMurdo, to whom, as having been interested with its organization from the commencement until very recently, so much praise is most justly due.

[From the *London Times*, January 6, 1862.]

CANADIAN PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

The following notification, dated Quebec, December 20, has been issued :—

In view of the fact that Great Britain has made certain demands of the United States, and of the uncertainty whether the Washington government will accede to them, preparations for which is, to say the least, quite possibly are being made by the authorities both in England and Canada, three transports, the *Persia*, *Australasia* and *Melbourne* are now on their way to Rivière du Loup, with thirty thousand stand of arms, two regiments and three batteries of Armstrong guns. We have no doubt that further reinforcements and more munitions of war will be sent on very shortly by way of Halifax, and, as the Temisconta road is now finished, both troops

and arms can be conveniently and expeditiously forwarded by it, as well as by the Kempt road. We understand that his excellency, the commander-in-chief of the militia, will to-day issue a general order for the immediate formation of one company for active service from each battalion of sedentary militia in Canada. It will be remembered what valuable services in the field were rendered during the last war by the so-called "flank companies," and we suppose a similar organization to theirs will be adopted now. There are at present, in both sections of the province, 459 battalions of militia, and the organization of one company from each will give a force, including officers, of 39,015 men. Adding the strength of the active militia, classes A and B, which may be estimated at 7,500 men, there will thus be organized a total militia army of 46,515 men. The flank companies are to be formed so that each shall preserve as much as possible its local character. This will also be kept in view in grouping them together. Thus, the Kent, Lincoln, Quebec, Rimouski regiments and others will doubtless have a strong *esprit de corps*, and endeavor to keep up the credit of the locality from which they are recruited. Further details of the proposed arrangements will, of course, be speedily made known to the proper officers and to the public.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY :

DEAR SIR : The following communication, sent by request of Governor Foraker, has been received by General C. W. Darling, corresponding secretary of the Oneida Historical society, at Utica, New York, in answer to a letter sent by him, asking why the state of Ohio had no motto to represent an important idea.

OHIO CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION, }  
COLUMBUS, Oct. 23, 1886. }

GENERAL CHARLES W. DARLING, Secretary of the Oneida Historical society, Utica, New York.

Dear Sir : My investigation regarding the motto on the state seal of Ohio shows the following facts : In 1805, the general assembly passed an act relative to a state seal, and describing the device used thereon.

I enclose so much of the act as relates to the state seal, omitting all reference to county or notary seals. In 1866 the general assembly passed an act amending the act of 1803, for what reason I can not say, and as you will notice from the cuts enclosed, adding to the device, and also placing thereon the motto : "*Imperium in Imperio*." Prior to 1868, the seal of the state of Ohio contained a view of three hills near Chillicothe, the old capitol, with the Latin words above given, *Imperium in Imperio*.

In 1868, the general assembly passed an act restoring the seal of 1803, or rather the device of the sheaf, arrows and river, and omitting the motto.

The proceedings of the houses do not show why the changes were made. They merely show the proceedings, motions, amendments, votes, etc., but no debates being published, no reasons appear. Mr. Hearyle Noble of our city, a gentlemen well informed in our local history, thinks the change, or desire for it, originated in the office of the secretary of state, but no mention is made of the seal in the reports of that office. It is hard to say now why it was done. The seal explains itself. The seventeen arrows may denote the seventeen counties, though they do not give much strength to this supposition. When Ohio was admitted into the Union, there were nine counties. The first general assembly created

eight others, making seventeen in all. There were other counties rapidly added when the next session convened, hence I hardly think the seventeen arrows denoted the seventeen counties, though they may have done so. The remainder of the device is self-explanatory. Herewith you will find appended a copy of the proceedings of the general assembly.

Yours truly,

A. A. GRAHAM, Secretary.

Act of March 25, 1803 :

... "On which seals shall be engraved the following device : On the right side, near the bottom, a sheaf of wheat, and on the left a bunch of seventeen arrows, both standing erect ; in the back ground, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a mountain, over which shall appear a rising sun. The state seal is to be surrounded by the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Ohio." ...

What precedes and follows the above relates to the supreme court and to county courts. The state seal to be two inches in diameter ; the supreme court seal one and three-fourth inches, and the county seals one and one-half inch in diameter.

Act of April 6, 1866 :

Be it enacted, etc. . . .

Section 1. "That the coat of arms of the state of Ohio shall consist of the following device : A shield upon which shall be engraved on the left, in the foreground a bundle of seventeen arrows ; to the right a sheaf of wheat, both standing erect ; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a range of mountains, over which shall appear a rising sun ; between the base of the mountains and the arrows and sheaf, in the left foreground, a river shall be represented flowing towards the right foreground ; supporting the shield ; on the right, shall be the figure of a farmer with implements of agriculture and sheafs of wheat standing erect and recumbent ; and in the distance a locomotive and train of cars ; supporting the shield, on the left, shall be the figure of a smith, with anvil and hammer ; and in the distance water with a steamboat ; at the bottom of the shield there shall be a motto in these words : '*Imperium in Imperio*.'"

Section 2. "The great seal of the state shall be two and a half inches in diameter, on which shall be engraved the device included within the shield, as described in the preceding section, and it shall be surrounded with these words, 'The Great Seal of the State of Ohio.'"

The supreme court seal to be two and a half inches in diameter; the county seals to be one and a half inch in diameter. Such to have the same device as the great seal of the state, but surrounded by words indicating their character.

Act of April 16, 1867:

Amendatory to sections 2, 3 and 4 of the act of April 6, 1866.

The great seal of the state shall be two and one-half inches in diameter, on which shall be engraved the device included in the shield, as described in the preceding section, and it shall be surrounded with these words, "The Great Seal of the State of Ohio."

The remainder of the act relates to the seals of the supreme court, county, district court, etc.

Act of May 9, 1868:

An act to repeal act of April 6, 1866, and to amend act of April 16, 1867.

Section 1. Be it enacted, etc.

"That the coat of arms of the state of Ohio shall consist of the following device: A shield, in form, a circle. On it, in the foreground, on right, a sheaf of wheat; on the left, a bundle of seventeen arrows, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a mountain range, over which shall appear a rising sun."

Section 2 relates to size, and to words which are the same as in act of 1867, and also to other seals used under authority of the state.

*To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:*

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the State Historical society of Wisconsin was held at Madison, the evening of January 6. The report of the executive committee, submitted by Secretary Draper, showed that during the past year the library had been increased by 2,575 volumes and 2,935 pamphlets or 5,510 titles in all. There are now in the library, 118,666 books and pamphlets all told. The society

started out in 1854, with but fifty books and pamphlets. Of late years, the average increase has been about 4,000 titles. Of the book additions during the year 1886, there were 42 folios and 180 quartos—increasing the number of folios in the library to 4,899, and the quartos to 5,091. The strength of the library can be best realized by citing that of a few of the departments. Bound newspaper files, 4,942; British and American patent reports, 4,561; genealogy and heraldry, 1,039; Shakespearian literature, 892; maps and atlases, 972. Of the newspaper files, there are 76 volumes of the seventeenth century, and 536 of the eighteenth. Of the Revolutionary period and before, the society's collection may be regarded as almost matchless. Dr. Draper, after thirty-three years of constant labor in behalf of the society and the state, declined re-election in favor of Mr. Rueben G. Thwaites, who has for two years past been his assistant. Mr. Thwaites was elected corresponding secretary, while Dr. Draper was chosen honorary secretary for life without salary—as a recognition of his long and valuable services. Hon. John A. Rice of Waukesha county, was re-elected president; Associate Justice Harlow S. Orton of Madison, senior vice-president, Daniel S. Durrie, librarian, and Frank F. Proudfit of Madison, treasurer. The society voted to endorse the memorial about to be presented to congress by leading historians the country over, asking for the employment of Mr. B. F. Stevens of London to index papers relating to America, now in the public archives and private libraries of Europe; also voted to endorse Senator Morrill's bill providing for the free transmission through the mails, of all historical society publications; also established an antiquarian fund for mound exploration and obtaining original historical material in Wisconsin. The society's binding fund of twenty thousand dollars, which has been twenty years in accumulating, is at last completed, and its income will be used for much needed binding this year. Perhaps the most notable addition to the library, during 1886, was a colored-plate edition, magnificently bound, of 'Kingsborough's Mexican Antiquities,' the gift of President Rice, at a cost of six hundred dollars. The museum and art gallery are growing apace, there being in the latter one hundred and fifty fine oil portraits of distinguished Wisconsin pioneers and Indian chiefs. In every department the Wisconsin society is making marked progress. It has long had a splendid reputation at home and abroad, and will continue to keep step with the material and intellectual growth of the great west.

*To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY :*

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A regular meeting of the Oneida Historical society was held at its rooms in the Library building, on Monday, January 28, at 7:30 P. M., Vice-President Ellis H. Roberts in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were duly read and approved. General C. W. Darling, corresponding secretary, read a long list of books and documents, sent as gifts from societies and individuals, whose names were given, for which the thanks of the society was tendered.

A. A. Graham of Columbus, Ohio, and E. L. Dana of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, were chosen corresponding members; and Hon. William Townsend, and Ward Hunt, were elected to resident membership. Myron Angel of San Luis Obispo, California, was proposed as a corresponding member, and in accordance with the rules, the matter was referred to the proper committee. Vice-President Roberts then spoke as follows: "The Oneida Historical society has in no way done more to keep alive and preserve our local history than by the monuments which it has helped to erect. The beginnings of our city are defined and perpetuated by the memorial of old Fort Schuyler. The settlement of the county is forever traced back to its pioneer by the monument to Hugh Whitein, the town which bears his name. The towering column at Oriskany teaches for all time strategic and commercial relations of the valley of the Mohawk to the continent, while it gives mortality to the yeoman who withstood the armed hosts of invasion.

For these this society may claim its share of credit. The monument to Baron Steuben, due in a large part to the thoughtfulness of our German fellow-citizens at all its stages had the favor of our distinguished president (ex-Governor Horatio Seymour), whose eloquence crowned its dedication. He also contributed to the memorial to that earlier soldier—the soldier of the cross—Samuel Kirkland, missionary, leader in education in central New York, by whose grave the hillside above Oriskany creek is made consecrated ground. The work already done by the society opens the way for other like tasks, and I suggest that the committee on monuments of this society be directed to report what action should be taken to mark the graves of the heroes of the Revolutionary period, in Forest Hill cemetery and elsewhere in this county.

Honorable J. F. Seymour, chairman of the committee on monuments, stated that this subject would be brought before his committee.

On motion of Dr. Bagg, recording secretary, the matter was referred to the committee on monuments. Mr. Seymour then read a paper on the late librarian of the society, Judge M. M. Jones, and paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the deceased. Mr. Alexander Seward followed with a few appropriate remarks, and moved that the thanks of the society be returned to Mr. Seymour for his paper.

The chair announced that the annual meeting of the society would occur on the second Tuesday in January, on which occasion an address will be delivered by Professor F. M. Burdick of Hamilton College. Subject: "Is local history worth studying." The society then adjourned.

# The Magazine of Western History,

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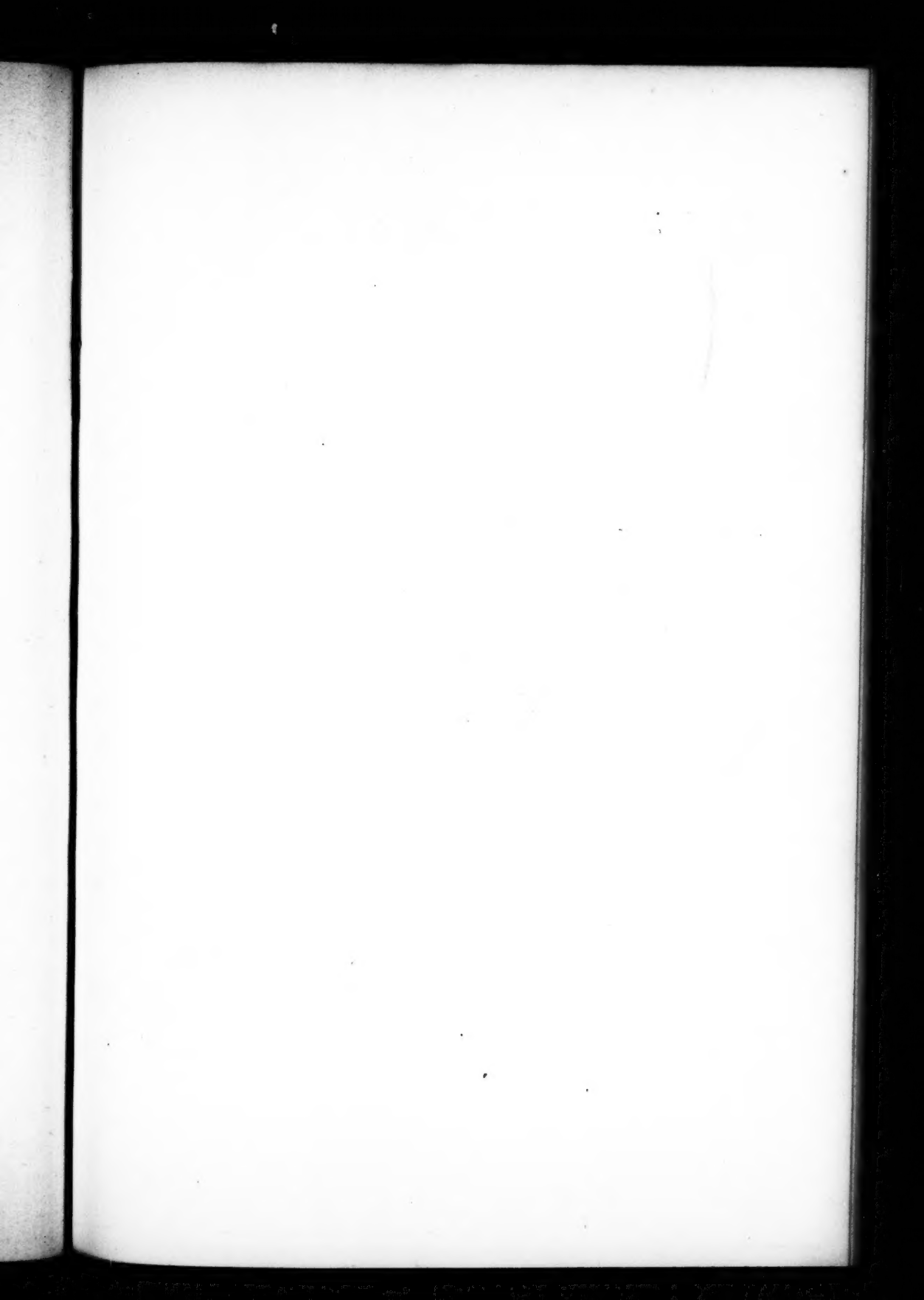
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J. M. Buck